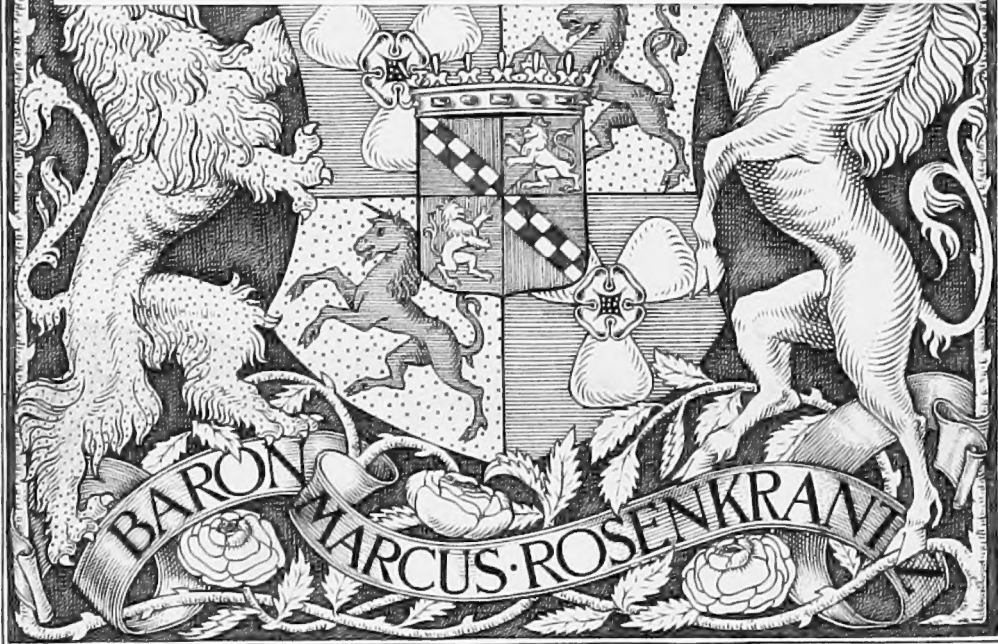
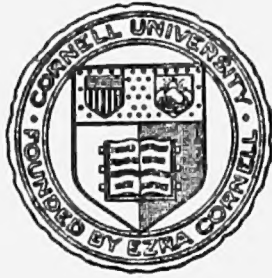




CORNELL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



"K. of K."

"Kitchener," by Brig.-General C. R. Ballard (Faber and Faber. 18s.), is a book which will be read with interest by all and with approval, I believe, by most. Certainly by most of those who, like myself, can carry their memories back to the days before Omdurman, when the Khalifa and his dervishes were a terror to Egypt and the Sudan an apparently insoluble problem. The cutting up of Hicks's and Valentine Baker's forces by the dervishes, the inconclusive actions fought round Suakim by British troops and seamen under Graham, and the failure of the Gordon relief expedition under Wolseley, were all fresh in the public mind. There was a despondent feeling everywhere that here we were up against a nut too tough to be cracked. Then Kitchener came along and cracked it. It may look an easy business in retrospect; nothing much to make a song about. But it presented itself in a very different light at the time, when the whole British nation hailed it as a notable achievement. So, under the conditions and circumstances, it was. And if it made Kitchener's name, it made it deservedly. I dwell on this because certain former admirers of his, who afterwards rounded on him so venomously during the Great War, then studiously set themselves to belittle everything he had ever done. Which was carrying matters to the point not merely of indecency, but of absurdity.

General Ballard is not of those who belittle Kitchener. On the contrary, he recognises him for the great man he was, for all his failings and mistakes. He points out, with truth, that the outcry against him, in certain quarters, in May, 1915, arose largely from the disappointment of certain military optimists, who had looked for a quick victory after the Marne (though such a possibility was never, in fact, on the cards), and because we failed to secure it they made Kitchener the scapegoat of their own misjudgments.

In the matter of artillery ammunition, Kitchener no doubt underestimated the supply required, but, then, so, before our defeat at Loos, did French himself, who on the eve of the battle informed Kitchener that he had an ample supply on hand. In this unprecedented war innumerable miscalculations were made on both sides which only experience could bring to light, and the worst to be said of Kitchener is that he was not exempt from the universal fallibility.

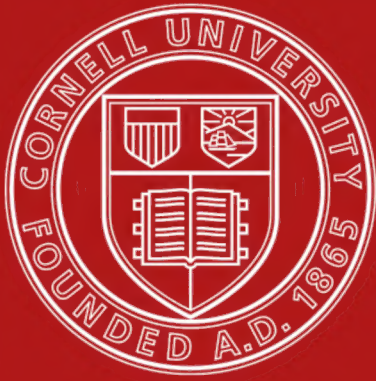
Altogether this book is an admirable and discriminating biographical study, in which, without any straining of the facts to make out a case, justice, and not more than justice, is done to the great man who is its subject.

University Library

own words,



3 1924 028 001 042



Cornell University
Library

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

KITCHENER
IN HIS OWN WORDS

LORD KITCHENER

HIS WORK & HIS PRESTIGE

By HENRY D. DAVRAY. With a
Prefatory Letter by PAUL CAMBON,
Ambassador of the French Republic.

Cloth.

2s. 6d. net.

In this book the author summarizes vividly the career of Lord Kitchener ; he shows his extraordinary personal power, his entire absorption in his work, and the wonderful prestige that gave him the enormous popularity he enjoyed. Both preface and book are a worthy tribute to the work, character, and capacity of Lord Kitchener.



Copyright,]

THE LAST PHASE.

["Daily Sketch,"

KITCHENER

IN HIS OWN WORDS

BY

J. B. RYE, M.A.

FORMERLY HISTORY SCHOLAR OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

AND

HORACE G. GROSER

AUTHOR OF "LORD KITCHENER: THE STORY OF HIS LIFE"

LONDON

T. FISHER UNWIN LTD.

ADELPHI TERRACE

First published in 1917

346/55 B
X

(All rights reserved)

**“ Lord Kitchener was the greatest personality
of our day.”—GENERAL IVANOV.**

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	II

PART I

FROM THE BIRTH OF KITCHENER TO THE OPENING OF THE GREAT WAR

CHAPTER I

Birth in Ireland—Education in Switzerland and at Woolwich—
A volunteer in the Franco-German War—Enters Royal
Engineers—Photographer and surveyor in Palestine; twice
saves Lieutenant C. R. Conder's life; publishes book of
"Photographs of Biblical Sites"; commands Survey Party
in Galilee—Visits Constantinople and observes the Bulgarians
and a section of the front in Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8—
Opinion of Turkish troops—Returns to England and com-
pletes maps of and memoirs on Western Palestine . 27-47

CHAPTER II

Director of Survey of Cyprus—Schemes for development of
Cyprus, "the Key of the East"—Vice-Consul in Asia Minor
—Report on the Vilayet of Kastamuni and Turkish misrule
—Returns to Cyprus—Land Registrar—Rides in and wins
a horse-race—At Bombardment of Alexandria—Returns to
Cyprus—Leaves Cyprus for Egypt 48-77

CHAPTER III

In Egypt—Second-in-command of Egyptian Cavalry—Surveys
Sinai Peninsula—Intelligence Officer for the Gordon Relief
Expedition—Goes south of Dongola dressed as an Arab to

obtain information—Accompanies Stewart's column to Gakdul—Commissioner on the Anglo-Franco-German Commission to delimit Zanzibar—Governor-General of Red Sea Littoral and Commandant of Suakin—His policy—Wounded at action of Handoub—Adjutant-General of Egyptian Army—At Battles of Gamaizah and Toski—Commands Egyptian Police	78-104
--	--------

CHAPTER IV

Sirdar of Egyptian Army—Friction with Khedive—The River War—Battles of Firket and the Atbara—Letter to the Khalifa—Battle of Omdurman—Comments of Lord Roberts, Major von Tiedemann, and Lord Salisbury on the campaign—Lord Cromer's estimate of cost of the Campaigns of 1896-8—The Fashoda crisis and meeting with Marchand—Reflections of Lord Salisbury on Kitchener's diplomacy—Governor-General of Soudan—The "Magna Charta" of the Soudan—Founds Gordon College and refounds Khartoum	105-158
---	---------

CHAPTER V

Chief of the Staff to Roberts in South African War—Appreciation of the journalist Steevens—Battle of Paardeberg—Commander-in-Chief—The Blockhouse System—Concludes peace with and conciliates the Boers—The "salt of life" speech—On the services of Lord Milner, French, and Haig—Conception of a United South Africa—Duties of capitalists towards discharged soldiers—On canteens—Military lessons from South African War	159-186
--	---------

CHAPTER VI

Commander-in-Chief of Indian Army—Inspects North-West Frontier—Soldiers not to quarrel with natives—On the Sikhs—Reduces amount of "sentry-go"—Memorandum upon the Organization and Training of the Army in India—Redistribution of Indian Army—Visit to Burmah—Minute on the Dual Control of the Indian Army—Views as to the education of Mohammedans—Regulations for examination in the Japanese language—Memorandum on Musketry Training; importance of Maxims—Resignation of Lord Curzon	187-250
--	---------

CONTENTS

9

CHAPTER VII

PAGE

Commander-in-Chief in India (<i>contd.</i>). Military training tests— Speech at the New Indian Staff College dinner—Syllabus for Indian Staff College Examination—Wins prize for orchids— Journey to Nepal—On the Gurkhas—Indian Army divided into two portions, Northern and Southern—A General Staff for Indian Army—The “master-key of business”—Concep- tion of a modern army—Speech to Masons—Farewell order —Visits China, the Manchurian battle-fields, Corea and Japan—Sails for Java and Australia—Ship runs aground— At Port Darwin	251-308
--	---------

CHAPTER VIII

Arrives in Australia and inspects Australian forces—Memorandum on defence of Australia and adequate training of Citizen Army— Visits New Zealand and advises its Government—Crosses the Pacific and the United States—Returns to England—Meets Kaiser Wilhelm II—Refuses to become Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean—On town planning—Revisits Egypt and the Soudan—Tour in British East Africa—Address to Boy Scouts—Again meets the Kaiser—“Kitchener Wheat” —Director of London, Chatham, and Dover Railway—Com- mands troops at the Coronation of George V—The Agadir incident	309-337
--	---------

CHAPTER IX

Appointed British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt—His views on an Anglo-German War—Arrives in Egypt—Journey to Soudan—Meets Prince Louis of Battenberg, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Asquith, and Sir Ian Hamilton at Malta—Returns to England in June 1914—Extracts from his reports on Egypt and the Soudan: Party government and national progress, Legislative assemblies and “the hard-working, unheard masses of the people,” cotton growing, education, etc.— The Serajevo crimes—Ultimatum to Serbia—Great War breaks out—Kitchener, at Dover <i>en route</i> for Egypt, is recalled	338-405
--	---------

PART II

FROM GREAT BRITAIN'S ENTRY INTO THE GREAT
WAR TO THE DEATH OF KITCHENER

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	409-423

CHAPTER X

Secretary of State for War—Appeal for 100,000 recruits—Message to soldiers of the Expeditionary Force—His position in the Cabinet and conception of the War—Changes introduced—The New Armies—Difficulties of the War Office—On retreat from Mons—The Antwerp expedition—On Sir John French and General Joffre—"Present warfare approximating to siege operations" (November 1914)—Minister of War not a magician—Moral impulse needed—On Roberts—Censorship of the Press—General Botha and the South African Rebellion—The Serbian victories over the Austro-Hungarians .	425-499
--	---------

CHAPTER XI

Secretary of State for War (<i>contd.</i>). Need for increase of munitions (March 15, 1915)—On poisonous gas—On the Canadians—High-explosive shells—Gallipoli Expedition—The "three M's"—Power of Germany—On excuses for not joining Army—The Russian retreat—The French and their "almost impregnable fortifications"—Visit to Gallipoli Peninsula and Athens—Call for economy—Criticized in House of Commons—Meets his critics—Mission to Russia—Death .	500-588
--	---------

APPENDIX	589-591
--------------------	---------

INTRODUCTION

KITCHENER was, according to General Ivanov, the "greatest personality of our day,"¹ and, in the words of General Brussilov, "the life and soul of an undertaking unparalleled in the annals of all history—the creation of an army of four million men."² The news of his disappearance on the night of June 5, 1916—five days after the battle off Jutland and the day after General Brussilov began his victorious offensive against the Austro-Hungarians—caused an unprecedented outburst of spontaneous grief.

To General Sir William Robertson, Kitchener's military successor, General Joffre sent this message: "In the name of the French Army, which has been profoundly touched by the tragic end of him who fought

¹ Message of General Ivanov to *Morning Post* correspondent; *Morning Post*, June 24, 1916.

² Message of General Brussilov to *Morning Post* correspondent; *Morning Post*, June 16, 1916.

in its ranks in 1870, I send you the expression of the grief we have felt on learning of the death of Lord Kitchener. We will never forget the man who, with patriotic ardour, created and organized the noble and valiant British Army now fighting by our side.”¹

Boers, with whom Kitchener had been fighting fourteen years or so before, lamented the death of the statesman-soldier who had reconciled them to the loss of their independence. “He undertook,” said General Botha, “the highest and most arduous post. He became master of the war, and one could not help admiring his gigantic work of changing the strength of the Army from hundreds into thousands and from thousands into millions.”²

These few, among the innumerable tributes of respect paid to Kitchener’s memory, show the estimation in which he was held outside our islands. As General Sir William Robertson has observed, “No man in our great Empire has done more to further our chances of victory in this great war.”³

“It seems,” has said General Sir Horace

¹ *The Times*, June 8, 1916. ² *Ibid.*

³ *Morning Post*, August 10, 1916.

L. Smith-Dorrien, "that Lord Kitchener and our great Dominions stand out pre-eminently as having foreseen the magnitude of the war from the first."

It was not only by his activities as soldier and military administrator that Kitchener increased our chances of victory.

The entry into the Cabinet of a statesman who, as surveyor, cartographer, and engineer, had worked with his hands, who was respected by the representatives of Labour in Australia and New Zealand, and who, while governing Egypt and the Soudan, had shown genuine sympathy for the labouring classes, allayed the suspicion industriously circulated by German agents or their dupes that the Great War, like all other wars, must necessarily tend to the advantage of landlords and capitalists. The passage below, taken from the annual report of the General Federation of Trade Unions, shows what Kitchener accomplished with hitherto intractable Labour Leaders.

"Fortunately," runs the report, "both for the Labour Movement and the memory of a great man, the Management Committee,

together with the other national bodies, has had a number of opportunities of discussing problems affecting Labour and national welfare and military exigencies with Lord Kitchener. At the various conferences there was plenty of plain speaking; sometimes criticism so intense as to be unfamiliar to a man of Lord Kitchener's experiences, but on either side the utterances were perfectly frank, free from suspicion, and characterized by purity of motive. Lord Kitchener did acquire an influence over most of the Labour men who met him; in many respects he was at one with them;¹ he believed in organization, and was impressed by the results which organized Labour had obtained. His interest was apparent, and at once created a spirit of *camaraderie* which was invaluable to both sides."²

Mr. Ben Tillett and Mr. Harry Gosling, two of the chief organizers of the Great Strike of 1911, were Kitchener's enthusiastic supporters. Had he been permitted to survive

¹ That this was so is apparent from Kitchener's reports on Egypt and the Soudan. See extracts, pp. 369-70.

² *The Times*, July 18, 1916.

the War, the influence which he had acquired with men who work with their hands would have been at its conclusion of enormous importance.

Nor was the fact that Kitchener was made Secretary of State for War a matter of indifference to the peoples of foreign countries and of the outlying portions of our Empire. Beyond all other British public men, he was admired by our Allies, by the South African, Australasian, and Canadian populations, and by the millions of India and Egypt. His accession to office in the Cabinet was a guarantee to the French and Russians that the British Empire would whole-heartedly engage in the struggle, and it had considerable influence on Mohammedans. From 1874 onwards Kitchener had been on friendly terms with Mohammedans, and, by his foundation of the Gordon College and other actions, he had shown that he was their genuine friend.

Finally, it should not be overlooked that Kitchener at the War Office was a disturbing element in the calculations of the German and Austro-Hungarian strategists. He was to them an unknown quantity, of, obviously, greater

magnitude than any politician, however gifted and energetic.

In certain essential points the achievements, talents, and character of Kitchener appear to be misunderstood by many of those who were his fellow-citizens. For instance, it has been asserted that he arrived at his decisions—especially his decision to create the New Armies—by instinct, and not by logical reasoning.

This assertion contains only a modicum of truth. His article on Cyprus, contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine* of August 1879, the document which we have ventured to call the "Magna Charta of the Soudan," the Minutes on the Dual Control of the Indian Army, the speech of March 1, 1916, in which he urged the British people to practise economy—indeed, almost all of his argumentative writings and reported speeches are full of logical reasoning.¹ At the Guildhall on July 9, 1915, Kitchener publicly explained why, in August 1914, he had thought that the Great War would be a long one and

¹ See pp. 49-54, 145-54, 225-37, 566-75.

that huge forces would have to be put in the field by Great Britain.

“The thorough preparedness of Germany [he said], due to her strenuous efforts, sustained at high pressure for some forty years, has issued in a military organization as complex in character as it is perfect in machinery. Never before has any nation been so elaborately organized for imposing her will upon the other nations of the world; and her vast resources of military strength are wielded by an autocracy which is peculiarly adapted for the conduct of war.”

We have attempted in this book to show—as far as is possible in Kitchener's own words—what he did, how he did it, and what he had designed to do. As soldier, statesman, administrator, diplomatist, linguist, intelligence officer, director of police, land registrar, engineer, surveyor, town planner, cartographer, and educationist he excelled, or was a man above the ordinary.¹ Whatever may have

¹ Kitchener was also manifestly a powerful writer and speaker, and, it would appear, an excellent archæologist,

been his rank among strategists and tacticians—and, though his military operations in the Soudan and South Africa were almost uniformly successful,¹ this fearless, prudent, indomitable, indefatigable, and original calculator never had adequate opportunities for exhibiting on a very large scale his talents for manœuvring troops—he was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest all-round men of action who have ever lived. Of his almost reckless courage, of his modesty, loyalty, and magnanimity, it is unnecessary to speak. He remained to the end simple and unaffected, subordinating his personality to the work which he undertook.

He was also, as his administration of the Soudan and Egypt shows, an independent and far-seeing statesman. “It is not mainly

collector of china and swords, horticulturist, photographer, horseman, and swimmer. He took a keen interest in Medical Science, Agriculture, and the cultivation of cotton.

¹ The only serious mistake which it has been alleged that he made was misdirecting the troops at the Battle of Paardeberg. On this “mistake” see the extracts from the “Official History of the South African War,” given in Chapter V. It is a commonplace that every Great Captain has made mistakes.

to the framing and publishing of laws," he wrote in 1899, "that we must look for the improvement and the good government of the country. . . . It is to the individual action of British officers, working independently, but with a common purpose, on the individual natives whose confidence they have gained, that we must look for the moral and industrial regeneration of the Soudan."¹

Kitchener aimed at creating neither military nor civil automata, but individuals who would willingly do what their consciences told them was right. He was, as many have testified, deeply religious. "He did his work," Dean Inge remarks, "not with eye service, but in singleness of heart, fearing God, and God only, for Lord Kitchener was a man of prayer, though he seldom spoke of his religion."²

When calling for recruits in July 1915, he told the eligible to examine excuses for not joining the Army "in the light of duty before the tribunal of the conscience. It is not for me," he added, "to tell you your duty; that is a matter for your conscience."

His ideals were, indeed, very different from

¹ See pp. 145-6.

² *The Times*, June 12, 1916.

those of the average Parliamentarian. "Calm and well-considered interest in political affairs," he wrote to Sir Edward, now Viscount, Grey, on April 6, 1912, "is good for both the governed and those who rule, but fictitious interest, generally based on misrepresentation and maintained by party funds and party tactics, does nothing to elevate or develop the intelligent character of an Oriental race."¹ We may reasonably suspect that he had other than Oriental races in his mind when he made those observations.

Kitchener has been blamed for not substituting his own will for the vacillating impulse of the Cabinet. It was not, however, his ambition to tread in the footsteps of Cromwell or Bonaparte. June 2, 1916, was Kitchener's "18 Brumaire." It ended, not with the flight of the people's representatives from St. Stephen's, but with a vote of thanks to him proposed by Mr. Will Crooks and seconded by Major-General Sir Ivor Herbert, the latter one of his most bitter critics.

For forming an estimate of Kitchener and his place in history there already exists a very

¹ *Vide* p. 362,

considerable mass of published material. We have extracted the passages from his writings and speeches which we consider throw most light on his actions, character, mentality, and ideas.

His *dicta* and *scripta* deserve to be carefully perused. It has been said that in the world there are many echoes and few voices. Kitchener's utterances were rarely echoes. He was, besides being a very accurate observer, an independent and soberly imaginative thinker. "Without in the least," writes Colonel Willoughby Verner, who was constantly with Kitchener during the Gordon Relief Expedition, "being disloyal or insubordinate when referring to those in authority, he seemed to view them one and all as if from some outside position and not as one who had been brought up under them, discussing the plans and commenting on the orders he had from time to time received in a grim manner but always with much humour and good nature."¹ His humour, seldom displayed in public, was greatly

¹ *The Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1916, pp. 287-8.

appreciated by his intimate friends. "When alone with you," says Lord Desborough, "he was very talkative, and his curious humour and quaint summing-up of individuals and situations was an unfailing source of interest and surprise."

Of these "quaint summings-up" one, well authenticated, will be sufficient to show this side of his character. Colonel (then Captain) Verner had asked him why the British in the Gordon Relief Expedition were losing camels, their one and only means of transport, at an hourly increasing rate.

"You see," replied Kitchener, "our people have made one miscalculation; they thought that in the camel they had discovered an entirely new beast of burden which required neither rest nor food nor water, and perhaps when they have killed the last of the lot they'll find out their mistake."¹

A single instance of Kitchener's caustic irony (which he so often employed when reproving incompetent subordinates) may also be given. Writing to the Khalifa on the eve of the Battle of Omdurman, he requested

¹ *The Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1916, p. 293.

him to remove the women and children "to a place where the shells of guns and bullets of rifles shall not reach them. If you do not do so," he proceeded, "the shells and bullets cannot recognize them, and will consequently kill them." The irony underlying the implied suggestion that the Khalifa was incapable by himself of appreciating the effects of gun-and-rifle fire must have been somewhat disconcerting to the Kaiser of the Soudan.

Humour and irony are, nevertheless, seldom found in Kitchener's public writings and speeches. His style is chiefly remarkable for its directness, precision, sobriety, and sincerity. To convey his meaning, he sometimes employed a colloquialism, like "It is up to you." He resorted, on occasions but not often, to metaphors and similes.

From the passages chosen and from the other information collected by us, we trust that the reader will be able to form a correct judgment on Kitchener's character, abilities, and actions.

In conclusion, we thank the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, the Committee of

the Palestine Exploration Fund, the proprietors of *The Times*, *The Morning Post*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and other journals, Messrs. Hurst & Blackett and Messrs. William Blackwood & Sons for their kind permission to use materials the copyright of which or right of production is vested in them. The Controller of H.M. Stationery Office, we may add, is the owner of the copyright of the "Official History of the South African War" and of Parliamentary Papers and *The London Gazette*. We also thank Miss Estelle Blyth, Assistant-Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund, Field-Marshal Sir Evelyn Wood, G.C.B., General Sir R. Biddulph, G.C.B., Sir Ernest Clarke, Colonel S. C. N. Grant, C.B., Mr. A. I. Ellis, M.A., Mr. Daniel Baxter, and Mr. E. Lewin, Librarian of the Royal Colonial Institute, for the assistance we have received from them.

PART I

FROM THE BIRTH OF KITCHENER TO THE OPENING OF THE GREAT WAR

(NOTE.—The quotations which are not taken from Kitchener's writings and speeches have been set closer than the Kitchener quotations; i.e. there is more space between the lines in the latter quotations.)

KITCHENER

IN HIS OWN WORDS

CHAPTER I

Birth in Ireland—Education in Switzerland and at Woolwich—A volunteer in the Franco-German War—Enters Royal Engineers—Photographer and surveyor in Palestine; twice saves Lieutenant C. R. Conder's life; publishes book of "Photographs of Biblical Sites"; commands Survey Party in Galilee—Visits Constantinople and observes the Bulgarians and a section of the front in Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8—Opinion of Turkish troops—Returns to England and completes maps of and memoirs on Western Palestine.

1850, *June* 24. Birth of Horatio Herbert Kitchener at Gunsborough House, near Tralee, County Kerry, Ireland.

1863. Kitchener about this date enters the Rev. J. Bennett's school near Villeneuve on the Lake of Geneva, Switzerland.

Subsequently “coaches” with the Rev. George Frost of 28 and 29 Kensington Square, London.

1868. Passes into the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.

“The following are the names of the fifty-six successful competitors in the recent examination, held at Chelsea Hospital, for admission to the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich—

ORDER OF MERIT.	NAMES.	INDEX NUMBER.	MARKS.
1.	Chermside, H. C.	44	6,452
.	.	.	.
28.	Kitchener, H. H.	85	3,665
.	.	.	.
56.	Loyd, A. K.	60	2,759.” ¹

1870. Serves in Second Army of the Loire and assists in operations against the Germans in the Franco-German War.

“In the autumn and winter of 1870 France was still struggling with Germany . . . and with Chanzy’s troops, so military tradition relates, was a young Woolwich cadet named

¹ *The Times*, January 24, 1868.

Kitchener. Why he happened to be there or how he got there I cannot tell you" (Lord Minto).¹

1871, *Jan.* 6. Gazetted Lieutenant in Royal Engineers.

1874. Employed by Committee of Palestine Exploration Fund to assist Lieutenant C. R. Conder in surveying Western Palestine.²

¹ From Lord Minto's speech on August 20, 1909, at United Service Club Dinner at Simla, given in honour of Lord Kitchener (*Pioneer Mail*, August 27, 1909). It is related that Kitchener, while with Chanzy's army, made a balloon ascent.

² A correspondent to the *Morning Post* of June 20, 1916, writing over the initials "A. S. C.," states that Kitchener was in Germany in the summer of 1874 or 1875.

"A younger brother of mine," he says, "was returning from his studies at Luneburg in the summer of 1874 or 1875, and having spent his money found himself stranded on the railway platform at Hanover, practically penniless. He was at his wits' end how to get on to London, when a tall young British officer, with japanned uniform case bearing the name H. Kitchener, R.E., entered the station. My brother went up to him, confessed impecuniosity, and that it was due to his having recklessly broken his journey and stayed the night at Hanover to dine and hear Pauline Lucca in the opera. Lieutenant Kitchener severely cross-examined him, inquired his name, etc., and then took a ticket for him to London, keeping him under his eye,

“YUTTA CAMP,
November 5th, 1874.

With the assistance of Lieutenant Kitchener, whom we are anxiously expecting, we may hope to reach, or perhaps even to exceed, the former rate of progress” (Lieutenant C. R. Conder).¹

Nov. 19. Kitchener joins Conder.

Dec. 3. At Kubab.

Dec. 4.

“Lieutenant Kitchener succeeded in obtaining some photographs under peculiarly unfavourable circumstances, and after nine hours’ fatiguing work we returned to camp very tired” (Lieutenant Conder).²

and feeding him throughout the journey, and finally saw him and his luggage into a cab for home.”

This incident could not have occurred in 1875, because (*see infra*) Kitchener was in Palestine during the whole of the summer of that year.

Sir George Arthur, the official biographer of Kitchener, has stated that Kitchener visited every European country, except Spain and Russia.

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, January 1875, p. 12.

² *Ibid.*, April 1875, pp. 74-5.

1875, *Jan.* Kitchener suffers from "Jericho fever."

Feb. 25. Left behind convalescent at Jerusalem.

March 13. At Beit Jibrin rejoins Conder.

March 26.

"Lieutenant Kitchener has photographed the vault on the side of the Kal'ah, the Great Church of St. John, and one of the curious caves at Tell Sandahannah near the town" (Lieutenant Conder).¹

April 5. Saves Conder from drowning in the Mediterranean near Ascalon.

"We were able to enjoy a daily bathe in the sea, which, however, nearly cost me my life on the 5th of April [1875]; for the surf was breaking, and a strong suck-back of the waves carried me out into the broken water, whence I was rescued by Lieutenant Kitchener" (Lieutenant Conder).²

April 20. At Gaza.

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, July 1875, p. 141.

² "Tent Work in Palestine," by C. R. Conder, R.E., vol. ii. p. 164.

July 10. Nearly killed in affray at Safed.

“Lieutenant Kitchener was seriously injured on the thigh with a huge stone. . . . I must inevitably have been murdered but for the cool and prompt assistance of Lieutenant Kitchener, who managed to get to me and engaged one of the club men, covering my retreat. A blow descending on the top of his head he parried with a cane, which was broken by the force of the blow. A second wounded his arm. His escape is unaccountable. . . . I gave the order to leave the tents and fly round the hill. Lieutenant Kitchener was the last to obey this order, being engaged in front. He retreated to his tent, and whilst running he was fired at, and heard the bullet whistle by his head. He was also followed for some short distance by a man with a huge scimitar, who subsequently wounded with it more than one of our people” (Lieutenant Conder).¹

“MOUNT CARMEL,
15th *July*, 1875.

Being placed in command of the expedition, owing to the temporary illness of Lieutenant Conder, I write by his wish to inform the

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October 1875, pp. 197–8. A fuller account of the Safed affray will be found in Conder’s “Tent Work in Palestine,” vol. ii. pp. 191–8.

Committee that the Survey is at present entirely suspended in consequence of two causes—the first being a murderous and unprovoked attack on the party by Moslem inhabitants of Safed (particulars enclosed); the second the gradual spread of cholera over the north of Palestine. Lieutenant Conder and myself consider, under these circumstances, that we cannot take the responsibility of conducting the party again into the field till a very severe punishment has been awarded to the inhabitants of Safed, and until the steady advance of the cholera is checked. I feel certain that neither of these obstacles will be removed under two or three months.”¹

Sept. 11–28. Attends trial at Acre of the authors of the Safed outrage.

Oct. 1. Leaves Palestine for England.

1876, *April.* At Royal Albert Hall engaged with Conder in preparing map of Western Palestine.

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October 1875, p. 195.

Publication of Kitchener's Guinea Book of "Photographs of Biblical Sites," viz. Valley of Sorek, Valley of Michmash, Mount Moriah, the Mosque of El Aksah, Elisha's Fountain, Bethlehem, Interior of the Dome of the Rock, the Baptism in Jordan, Cana of Galilee, Bethany, the "Via Dolorosa," the traditional site of the Holy Sepulchre.

"In publishing this set of Photographic Views in Palestine, my principal object has been to secure a fresh view of many of the most interesting Biblical Sites, and, in as many cases as possible, to present entirely new scenery to the public.

In some instances the sites are fixed beyond a doubt, in others the traditional sites have been taken.

The present series of twelve is a selection from fifty photographs taken for the Palestine Exploration Fund during the prosecution of the survey of Palestine.

I am much indebted to Lieut. Conder, R.E., for his assistance,

H. H. K.

These photographs were accompanied by descriptions from the pen of Kitchener, e.g.—

“VIA DOLOROSA—THE WAY OF THE CROSS.

This view is taken from the corner of the Via Dolorosa, close to the traditional station of the second fall under the Cross. The street is shown ascending westward towards the Holy Sepulchre. On the left side is the doorway of the traditional House of St. Veronica, the site of the miracle of the ‘Santo Volto.’

The level of this street is raised considerably above that at the time of our Lord, which exists at a depth of probably twenty feet beneath. The Porta Judicii or Gate of Judgment, which, according to the traditional view, was the Western Gate of Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion, stands at the further end of the street beyond the archway, which closes the view.

The photograph gives a good idea of the manner in which the streets of Jerusalem, as of all other towns in Palestine, are arched over, partly for the sake of strength in con-

struction, and partly to give shade during summer." ¹

1877, *Jan.* Kitchener returns to Palestine in command of the Survey party.

Feb. 6. At Beyrout.

Feb. 14. At Damascus.

" PALESTINE SURVEY CAMP, HAIFFA,
6th March, 1877.

I have also made a strict inquiry after the name of 'Kulmon' or 'Kalamon,' mentioned in *Quarterly Statement*, January 1876, p. 20, as to be found on the maps of Robinson, Ritter, and Jacotin, but not on those of M. Guerin and Vandevælde, and which also occurs on Murray's map. The German colony here have purchased nearly all the land north of Tireh, and by the kind permission of Mr. Sennaker, I have been allowed to carefully examine their title-deeds; though they have

¹ "Photographs of Biblical Sites." Published by Palestine Exploration Fund, No. XI.

land all round Khurbet Kefr es Samir, no such name occurs.

I have also ridden to Tireh with the sole object of finding this name. I asked every one I met on the road there and back, about twenty people, first for all the names of the country round, and, as a last resource, if they had ever heard of 'Kulmon,' 'Kulamon,' or anything like it. At Kh. Kefr es Samir I found an old man who inhabited a cave close by, and put the same questions. At Tireh I saw the sheikh and about two dozen men; none had ever heard of such a name. Since then the superior of the convent of Mount Carmel, who knows the district most thoroughly, has assured me that no such name occurs. I can therefore only assume that the name does not exist, and that our map is therefore right in not putting it on. How other maps have procured the name seems difficult to understand; but, as in some other case, it may have been supplied by some too enthusiastic traveller, who looked more for what ought to be in the country than what is."¹

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April 1877, pp. 71-2.

"CAMP AT TIBERIAS,
30th March, 1877.

Camp was struck at Haiffa on the 8th of March, and after passing one night at Nazareth we arrived at Hattin. . . . The triangulation was started next day by taking a series of observations from Jebel Toran. . . . This work occupied us nine days. The detail was then started, and has been worked in for one hundred square miles. . . . The levelling was also begun at the same time. . . . Adopting the ten-inch level readings throughout, and considering the theodolite readings merely as a check on the more accurate instrument, we arrive at a depression for the Sea of Galilee of 682·554 feet. Thirty-five bench marks have been cut on the line of levels and fixed on our map. . . . Immediately above our camp at Hattin was the field of the last great fight of the Crusaders. . . . The ruins on Mount Tabor were also visited from this camp." ¹

April 11. At Safed.

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, July 1877, pp. 116-19.

“MEIRON,

April 30, 1877.

On the 28th I received a telegram to the effect that war had been declared between Turkey and Russia. I hope this sad news will not interfere with the successful completion of the survey of Galilee.”¹

June 24.

“Phœnicia was the worst country we have surveyed yet, all up and down, and crowded with ruins and villages; where Murray has 7 names I had 116; instead of 7 villages and ruins I had 63.”²

July 21. At Aleih, Mount Lebanon.

Sept. 2. Arrives—viâ Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Nazareth, Jenin, Nablus—at Jerusalem.

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, July 1877, p. 125.

² *Ibid.*, October 1877, p. 162.

"CAMP AT JERUSALEM,
October 2nd, 1877.

I am glad to be able to report that the work of this month has finished the map of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba." ¹

Nov. 1. At Nablus.

"The country is, in my opinion, now in a more dangerous state than it has been any time this year." ²

Nov. 3.

"I was subjected to many indignities by the officials, which culminated on the 3rd of November by my being stoned by a mob of boys in the streets of Nablus. My letter of complaint to the acting governor was sent back unopened." ³

"NABLUS,
November 4.

I have just received the October *Quarterly*, and wish to notice a mistake in punctuation

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, January 1878, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, April 1878, p. 62.

which makes my description of Malia nonsense." ¹

Nov. 26. Sets out for the seat of the Russo-Turkish War.

"I made some final arrangements and sailed myself for Constantinople on the 26th [November 1877]. The work done from the end of February to the end of November, nine months, has been 1,340 square miles of country triangulated and surveyed, every ruin examined, and special reports on all villages and water-supply; the line of levels between the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee completed, 1,700 square miles of country revised, 3,850 names collected, and 816 ruins examined and described, 29 special plans and 19 photographs, besides notes on all archæological and geological points of interest in the country gone over." ²

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* January 1878, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*, April 1878, p. 67. Below are two further extracts

Dec. 12. Leaves Constantinople for Adrianople.

“Having provided ourselves with Turkish passports, T—— and I left Constantinople on the morning of the 12th December for Adrianople. The train was crowded with officers and men going to the war. As I talked Arabic, we soon got into conversation

from the *Quarterly Statements* of the Palestine Exploration Fund—

1. “The Committee take this opportunity of expressing their high sense of Lieutenant Kitchener’s ability and zeal. He has conducted the work for six months without any accidents, during a period of suspicion and excitement. His reports, which are in the hands of the General Committee, are careful and intelligent, and his monthly accounts show due regard to economy” (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October 1877, p. 193).

2. “Major Wilson, C.B., F.R.S., observed that Lieutenant Kitchener had omitted to mention, through modesty, the difficulties he had to surmount owing to the country being at war. From private information he had received from the consuls in Palestine he could assure the meeting that the tact and energy displayed by Lieutenant Kitchener in protecting the Christian population had greatly tended to the preservation of peace in that country” (*Ibid.*, October 1878, p. 174).

with some of those in our carriage. They were all in the greatest spirits—some going to Schipka, and others to Sophia, to join the army under Baker Pasha. . . . As we passed through the Checkmagee lines we could see that the redoubts were garrisoned and armed. . . . The slopes in front of the position seemed splendidly adapted for artillery - fire ; and with a good garrison, and the command of the sea, no army ought to be able to force these lines. . . . We got into Adrianople at 9 p.m. . . .

Next morning we had to be off by train, before it was light, for Tatar Bazardjik. . . . After a long march we reached the plain of Ichtiman and got into the village at 9.30 p.m. . . . Next day we were on our road again, and after passing the plain of Ichtiman we had to ascend to the village of Vakerell. . . . Our impression of the Bulgarians was not favourable. They seem to be a most despicable race. Morally they appear to be at the lowest ebb ; and if some of those who agitated about the Bulgarian atrocities really saw and talked to the people, they would, I feel sure, modify their opinions. After leaving

Vakerell, our road led down to the plain of Sophia. . . . It was freezing hard and snowing as we got near the town. . . .

Situated in a broad plain of wonderfully fertile soil, with a very healthy climate, it is said that in Sophia there is nothing to be desired. There are natural, warm sulphur-baths, which are supposed to be very good for rheumatism; and in the hills around I was told there were silver, iron, and coal mines. The town had not the appearance of a very prosperous place. Most of the houses were built of mud and wood, though there were some good stone houses. The streets are broad, and, as in all Bulgarian towns, quite two feet deep in mud everywhere; I never saw anything to equal the mud and filth. The fortifications are some distance outside the town, and were composed of detached redoubts of no great strength; still, if these had been armed and defended, Sophia might have held out for some time. . . .

On the 20th December we rode out to Tashkessen, a small, straggling, Bulgarian village, about one hour from the positions occupied by the army at Kamerleh. . . . Next

day we rode up to the positions. . . . Leaving our horses here, we climbed the hills to the left of the position on a visit to Baker Pasha, who commanded the division on that side. It was a stiff climb in our furs on the slippery snow and ice. . . . The position was a very strong one on the top of a narrow ridge. . . . It was a sad pity that, in taking up these lines, the Turks had neglected to occupy a high hill-top on the extreme left front; this would have rendered the turning of the left almost an impossibility. . . . I came away with the conviction that the Russians could never attack the right of the position, but that the turning of the left was steadily going on under cover of the fog. . . . Christmas day, I had to leave for Constantinople . . . I rode into Sophia by myself without any mishap. . . . Next day I started again on my good little horse and rode into Ichtiman. . . . Next day I was off again early, on a lovely morning. I passed about 5,000 men, infantry and cavalry, on the road. . . . These Turkish soldiers are perfect heroes, enduring any hardship without a murmur. Always ready to fight, never

conquered except by overpowering numbers, their motto might well be, 'While we have life we will fight.'"¹

1878, *Jan.-Sept.* At South Kensington Museum with Lieutenant Conder completing maps of Western Palestine and the memoirs accompanying them.

Aug. 16. Delivers at Dublin a lecture, "A Survey of Galilee," to geographical section of British Association.

"Let me add one more result we hope to obtain. We hope to rescue from the hands of that ruthless destroyer, the uneducated Arab, one of the most interesting ruins in Palestine, hallowed by the footprints of our Lord. I allude to the synagogue of Capernaum, which is rapidly disappearing owing to the stones being burnt for lime.

Ought we not to preserve for ourselves and our children buildings so hallowed, so

¹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, February 1878, pp. 194-200. The article is entitled, "A Visit to Sophia and the Heights of Kamerleh," and is signed "H. H. K."

unique? Let us hope that if this expedition succeeds it may be the means of leaving some footprints in the sand of time—

Footprints that perhaps another
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, may take heart again."¹

Sept. 10. Hands over to Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund the completed maps and memoirs and the final report.

Appointed Director of Survey in Cyprus.

¹ From Report of Lecture published in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October 1878, pp. 159-74. In this lecture it is noticeable that, referring to Napoleon's victory at Mount Tabor, he called him "Napoleon the Great," not "Napoleon," or "Napoleon I."

CHAPTER II

Director of Survey of Cyprus--Schemes for development of Cyprus, "the Key of the East"—Vice-Consul in Asia Minor—Report on the Vilayet of Kastamuni and Turkish misrule—Returns to Cyprus—Land Registrar—Rides in and wins a horse-race—At Bombardment of Alexandria—Returns to Cyprus—Leaves Cyprus for Egypt.

1878, *Sept.* 19. Sails from England for Cyprus.

1879, *Feb.* At Kythrea.

"On the following morning [February 14th] Mr. Kitchener, Lieutenant of the Royal Engineers, called at our camp, and was kind enough to pilot us to the celebrated springs about three miles above the village [Kythrea]. This able and energetic officer was engaged, together with Mr. Hippersly of the same corps, in making the trigonometrical survey of the island, and they were quartered in a comfortable house on the outskirts of the town. With this excellent guide, who could

explain every inch of the surrounding country, we started upon a most interesting ride" (Sir Samuel Baker).¹

Contributes article on Cyprus to *Blackwood's Magazine*.

"Cyprus is an island of sudden changes. Both climate and landscape are subject to rapid variations. From the glare of an overpowering sun one may enter the cool shade of a tropical garden, with the murmur of water trickling past as it wanders amongst the groves of oranges, figs, and palms. The bare treeless plain may be changed in a very short space for pine-forests of magnificent trees; instead of sand and dust, we trample on bracken fern by the side of rills and torrents running in steep gorges. The climate changes from great heat to chilling cold. We have noted a daily variation of fifty degrees of temperature; after a calm,

¹ "Cyprus as I saw it in 1879," by Sir S. W. Baker, p. 69. The date is fixed by the statement on page 75 that the next day was February 15, 1879. Sir Samuel Baker was the celebrated explorer.

clear morning, with the distant hills apparently close, suddenly a windy hurricane, accompanied by a thick haze, comes over the island, and shuts out the view. In the landscape it is the same. There are no gentle slopes; the hills all rise steeply from the plains; the water-courses run in deep beds, cut through alluvial soil and rock. These signs show the island to have been visited by heavy tropical rains. After the winter of 1877 the great Messarea plain was a lake of water and slime. This winter there has been barely five inches of rainfall—hardly enough to make the roads muddy for a few hours. . . . A few windmill pumps on the plain would irrigate a farm sufficiently to make it independent of lack of rainfall. . . . The hill-slopes grow vines in profusion, and these vineyards might be greatly extended. Many beautiful spots exist amongst the hills lying completely waste, grown over with scrub, hiding the old rock-cut wine-presses, that show where in ancient times there were once fruitful vineyards. Had the island been taken over by France, instead of England, the French would have soon developed the wine-trade

enormously. All that is wanted is capital to clear the scrub and plant the vines. . . .

Roads are a great want in the development of the island. The natives have no desire to save time—they follow the same narrow rugged tracks up and down the rocks that their fathers followed before them, and if Government undertook to make roads for them, they would soon be again destroyed ; but this would change if a few Englishmen settled in the country. The same thing would happen as has happened in the Lebanon. The English colony goes up from Beyrout to some village in the hills for the summer months ; a road where there was none before is soon made by the natives ; the houses are improved ; rents rise ; a hotel is started ; and a thriving, active community takes the place of a torpid village. The same effect would happen if a few colonists arrived [in Cyprus]. . . .

The English rule is undoubtedly popular in Cyprus. The Greeks are naturally more enthusiastic than the Turks in their expression of devotion to the Government of the Queen. For instance, in the village of Kethrœa, on New Year's Eve while the clocks were chim-

ing the advent of another year, shouts and cheers for Victoria and the English woke us up. No English were with them, and the shouting was quite spontaneous.

The Turks are also pleased with the new rule. They are not worried by *zabtiehs*, they have no fear of conscription, and they rather like the English. . . .

We have had our eyes on Cyprus as a desirable position for some time. As early as October 1876, it appears something had been decided, for the innumerable and very bad maps of the island issued on linen from the War Office are all stamped with that date. Palestine, no doubt, was the great rival, had war broken out with Russia. We might have occupied the country which we must defend from invasion from the north; we might have constructed the works that would make the passes of the Lebanon inaccessible, and have prepared the position about Mount Carmel, the greatest battle-field of the world, for the final contest.

Directly 'Peace with Honour' prevailed, Cyprus carried the day. We know the advantages of a sea-girt shore. No compli-

cations of holy sites and sentimental interests, no religious task of sending the Jew back and placing a king on the throne of Judah, tend to embarrass our occupation of the island.

The position of Cyprus was clearly seen to be almost perfect as a base of operations in Syria, and for influencing the reforms in Asia Minor.

So we have come to Cyprus, and some are horribly disgusted because it is not the seventh heaven promised by Mohammed to true believers. Had we been only looking for a charming climate, a delightful and healthy country, rich and prosperous, capable of paying us well for taking possession of it, there is no doubt we might have chosen something nearer the Garden of Eden ; but we should have been no better than freebooters, looting from the weak the richest jewels we could get hold of.

The great reasons for our coming should not be lost sight of—to influence the Turkish rule in Asia Minor for good, and to be capable of resisting any further encroachments from the north. . . .

The army of those who are to be our future allies should also be attended to. We

know what splendid fighting material there is in the Turkish soldier. We also know their wants—good officers, discipline, and commissariat. By raising and maintaining a Turkish regiment in Cyprus, we could find out by experience the reforms necessary. It would become the training school for officers, who would be capable of carrying out the same reforms in Asia Minor ; and in case of war, we should have men able to raise troops amongst the many warlike tribes of Syria and Asia Minor who would follow an English leader to the death.

By thus employing Cyprus we should make its possession politically of the vastest importance, and we should really possess the key of the East.”¹

April. Colonel C. W. Wilson appointed British Consul-General in Asia Minor, and “immediately after his appointment” Kitchener is nominated a Military Vice-Consul to assist him. Kitchener is stationed in Northern Asia Minor.²

¹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, August 1879, pp. 150–7. The article, entitled “Notes from Cyprus,” is unsigned ; it was apparently written in the “Camp Levkouiko, Cyprus.”

² “Life of Major-General Sir Charles Wilson,” by Colonel Sir Charles M. Watson, pp. 108–9.

" ADA BAZAR,

August 30, 1879.

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I have to-day received a deputation from the refugees from Soukhoum Kaleh. . . . They have nothing to eat; their children cry for food and they have nothing to give them; they live on vegetables, but very shortly there will be no more to be had; they have no houses or lands, and sleep under trees. . . . I beg to submit to Your Excellency that some decision of the Sublime Porte is absolutely necessary for the safety of the district, and to prevent these people from dying of want." ¹

" ADA BAZAR,

September 3, 1879.

I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that I have received a large number of petitions from Mohammedans as well as Christians with reference to the outrages committed in this district by the Circassians. . . . I am convinced that if some cases were severely dealt with, the present state of insecurity would cease." ²

¹ To Sir A. H. Layard. Parliamentary Papers, Turkey. No. 23 (1880), p. 2.

² Ibid., pp. 2-3.

“ADA BAZAR,
September 22, 1879.

I had the honour to inform Your Excellency by letter of the murder of the former Kaïmakam, near Ismidt, by Circassians, on the 14th inst. . . . The Circassians being armed, by nature fearless, and many of them very poor, will always attempt to oppress the timid Christians, unless the Government is prepared to protect the latter.”¹

“KASTAMUNI,
November 6, 1879.

I intend to bring strongly to the notice of His Excellency Ghalib Pasha the existing maladministration of justice and the bribery in the Courts of Law ; also the incapacity of the Inspector sent lately from Constantinople to introduce some order in the Courts of Justice here.”²

Kitchener's report on the “General Administration of the Vilayet of Kastamuni” was

¹ To Sir A. H. Layard. Parliamentary Papers, Turkey. No. 4 (1880), pp. 70-1.

² To Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson. Parliamentary Papers, Turkey. No. 23 (1880), p. 5.

enclosed by Sir A. H. Layard in a letter to the Marquis of Salisbury, dated February 27, 1880. Extracts from this important document are given below. We have ventured to number them.

TURKISH MISRULE IN 1880.

1. "The great drawback to the proper government of the country is the want of cohesion amongst the officials. Superior orders are very rarely obeyed by subordinates unless it suits them to do so, and as the Vali has not the power of dismissal, these disobediences pass unpunished."

2. "The misappropriation of Government money and the extortion of sums, in the shape of bribes from the people, is not looked upon with any degree of shame, and is openly spoken of, the value of an appointment being not so much the salary as what can be made out of it. The insufficient pay is stated as a reason for this state of things, and several officials have acknowledged to me that they could not live unless they took bribes and

extorted money from the people by the means at their disposal. This system has so impregnated the whole of the officials of the Empire that no individual Governor can eradicate it from a district; the attempt is sure to bring about the downfall of the Governor, who at once has all his subordinates against him."

3. "The officials do not trust one another; the power of the Medjliss is very much against any improvement; by a very simple intrigue they get a petition signed against a Governor of whom they disapprove, and he is at once removed; thus the Governor only rules as long as they please, and as they are almost always a mass of bribery and corruption, he must either aid them or go."

4. "Influential religious men have too much power and authority, and their complaints against officials are too often heard. The simple statement that the religion will suffer from such an official's rule is sufficient to cause his removal."

5. "The powers of the Vali are not sufficiently full, and his maintenance of office is too insecure to allow an upright man to act independently."

6. "The Courts of Law in the capital of this Vilayet are now undergoing some reorganization.

A Special Commissioner, Assim Pasha, has been sent for this purpose from Constantinople; but he has only succeeded in doing away with the old systems without substituting anything in their place; the result is a considerable amount of confusion, and the people suffer and murmur against reforms that deprive them of the small measure of justice that they could obtain previously. An examination has been instituted for employes under the new system, but appointments are still made by favouritism."

7. "The tax on petitions before a case can be entered into at all is very trying for the people, and results in many robbers escaping entirely, as a poor peasant is often unable to pay the preliminary fees."

8. "The peasants complain bitterly that if they capture a robber and hand him over to the police, he has no difficulty in arranging terms for his release, and they have to suffer from the vengeance of the brigand."

9. "When at Duztche I met several Beys, who were more or less known to me during my stay at Ada Bazar. I impressed upon them that if the existing state of affairs in the district continued, that severe measures would be taken ; and they promised to use their influence, which is very great, to suppress the highway robberies. They seem to have kept their word."

10. "In Turkish accounts accuracy is not considered of importance."

11. "The revenue does not include the custom-house receipts or telegraph receipts, which are sent direct to Constantinople after the employés have deducted their salaries. These employés are, therefore, in a very much better position than the others in the Vilayet, as they receive their pay regularly. I have

been informed that this arrangement is about to be altered."

12. "The people would be very glad to have the total of their liabilities known, and have power to divide it amongst themselves without interference of Government."

13. "The present system allows of grave peculation, which occurs on a large scale amongst the employés."

14. "Until the Government pays its employés regularly it cannot expect to be honestly served."

15. "The people desire education. I believe that the energetic example set by the Armenian population has done much to open the eyes of the Turkish people to this great want. Religious fanatics are naturally against all education, as they are in every country."

16. "Much complaint is caused by the manner in which the inspectors sent by the Seraskiat carry out their duties of exempting

from military service. They receive bribes and harass the people in every possible manner."

17. "The country people are almost entirely agriculturists or shepherds. They are poor, honest, and submit easily to the laws. . . . They look up to the few large landowners, who protect them in the Courts of their caza. These Beys, generally descendants of ancient families, are an excellent class—straightforward, clear-sighted men, who only require education to become a considerable power in the land."

18. "The present haphazard system of introducing reforms, by officials who know nothing of the subject they are sent to reform, is absolutely detrimental, and is causing considerable disappointment amongst the people.

The reforms in the Finance, Police, Prisons, Education, and Public Works Departments have not yet commenced, and I have been frequently told that, if they are to be of the same description as those in the Courts of Justice, the people would be much better without them."

19. "The great desire of the people is to see the Turkish Parliament reassembled at Constantinople—they have great confidence in its capabilities to check bad Ministers—and to see that reforms were properly introduced into the administration of the provinces."

20. "There is no order of promotion for officials who have served with distinction, and unless they have some powerful friend at Constantinople, there is no chance of advancement. If some order was put into the promotion of Government officials it would have a very beneficial effect."

21. "A few extra clerks have been appointed in the different Kaïmakamliks where they were not wanted and have nothing to do."

22. "Honest and capable officials are much required in the Finance Department, with powers sufficient to be able to act energetically in doing away with the present abuses."

23. "Officials often declare that the want of money is the cause that the reforms do

not take place, but this simply amounts to a wish to repeat the case of former years, when large sums were available, and much useless expenditure was incurred without the preliminary foundation of a good, honest Government.”¹

1880, *March* 15. Reappointed Director of Survey in Cyprus.

“The survey which had been commenced in 1878 was stopped in the Spring of 1879 for financial reasons; but the matter appeared to be of such importance that I obtained the Marquis of Salisbury’s consent, at the end of 1879, to re-establish it. Major Lloyd . . . came out here for a short time, until he was relieved by Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E., who had been in charge of the original survey; and, the surveyors having arrived during the month of June, no time was lost in recommencing

¹ The Report—or rather an extract from it—will be found at pp. 83-94, Parliamentary Papers, Turkey. No. 23 (1880). On March 17, 1880, Lord Salisbury wrote to Sir A. H. Layard as follows: “I request that Your Excellency will have the goodness to convey to Mr. Kitchener my thanks for the information contained in this document [the Report], which I have read with much interest” (Ibid., p. 100).

their work. . . . At the same time I placed under the Director of Survey the Deftér Hakané, or Office for the Registry of Sales of Land, and I have since amalgamated with it the Tahrir Emlak, or Office for the Registration and Assessment of Land.”¹

Sept. 24. Kitchener arrives from Alexandria at Limassol in Cyprus.²

1881, *March* 16. Wins match at the first day of Nicosia Race Meeting.

“Match about one mile.

Mr. H. Kitchener's *Selim*, Owner, 1

Mr. C. Tyser's *Squint*, Owner, 2.”³

March 17. Finishes second on *Selim* in the Nicosia Hunt Steeplechase.⁴

July. Leaves for England.⁵

¹ Sir R. Biddulph, High Commissioner for the Isle of Cyprus, to the Earl of Kimberley, July 7, 1881. Parliamentary Papers, 1881, Cyprus (Cd. 3092), p. 4. Kitchener on his return to Cyprus brought with him a bear cub, “Toby,” acquired in Asia Minor.

² *Cyprus, an Independent Newspaper*, September 27, 1880. “By the s.s. *Fortuna*, Mr. Kitchener and four deck passengers.”

³ *Cyprus, etc.*, March 20, 1881.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ On July 13 he was leaving Alexandria for Europe. See *Egyptian Gazette*, quoted by *Cyprus, etc.*, July 16, 1881.

“JUNIOR UNITED SERVICE CLUB,
LONDON, S.W.,

September 6, 1881.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Dispatch of the 25th August, relative to the water - supply of Cyprus, together with three enclosures. I regret that owing to these documents not having been forwarded to me in the country I have been unable to reply to them before. My opinion is that there is a large field for the improvement of the supply of water to the arable lands of the Island by utilizing the existing streams and sources of water instead of letting them run to waste, and also by the storage of the winter rainfall in the hills.

I would recommend that the former means of increasing the supply be first dealt with, as it would give immediate returns without any very considerable outlay of money. . . .

I would . . . strongly recommend the appointment of a competent official for the sole purpose of the improvement of the water-supply. . . . I beg to apologize for these rapidly written remarks.”¹

¹ To the Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office. Parliamentary Papers, 1882 (Cd. 3384), pp. 8-9.

Oct. 7. Arrives from Alexandria at Larnaca, Cyprus.

Dec. 6 (circa). While surveying in Limassol district shot at by an escaped convict.

“Information was received in Limassol yesterday [December 6] evening to the effect that Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E., Director of survey, had been shot at near the village of Missouri. It appears that seeing a man near here he was at work, Mr. Kitchener approached him to ask for some information, when the man levelled a gun at him, and kept moving about still keeping the gun in a threatening position. Mr. Kitchener then went some distance to fetch a native to interpret for him, and on returning to the spot the man again levelled his piece, and eventually fired a shot at Mr. Kitchener, but fortunately without hitting him. The native with him bolted, and Mr. Kitchener was unable to capture the miscreant.”¹ The miscreant appears to have been an escaped convict, one Salih Bobi, who was secured the next day (December 7). “Although Mr. Kitchener cannot positively swear to the face of the man who shot at him, it is believed that there is not much doubt that Salih Bobi is the man.”²

¹ *Cyprus Herald*, December 7, 1881.

² *Ibid.*, December 14, 1881.

1882, *Jan.* 3.

“The reduced 1-inch scale map has been kept up to date ; 2,839 square miles have been fair drawn and ornamented. The Limassol sheet has been completed and was taken to England and placed in the hands of Messrs. Stanford by me in August.”¹

March 16. At Nicosia Race Meeting.

“The first race on the list was the Cyprus Stakes. The winners were :—

1. Mr. Kitchener's *Kathleen*, Levitt.
2. Capt. Croker's *Deli Kaz*, Lord J. Kennedy.

The fifth race was the Welter Steeplechase, which was won by—

1. Mr. Kitchener's *Kathleen*, Owner up.
2. Capt. Croker's *Grey Dawn*, Mr. King Harman.

This was a splendid race. The horses got away well and kept well together. After the first time round *Kathleen*, *Derviche*, and *Grey*

¹ Extract from Report by “H. H. Kitchener, R.E., Director of Survey” (Parliamentary Papers, 1882, Cyprus (Cd. 3385), p. 44).

awn drew away to the front, which position they held to the finish coming down the straight. It was nip and tuck between *Kathleen* and *Grey Dawn*, the former, however, being landed in half a head in front of the other horse."¹

June 15. Appointed Curator and Hon. Sec. Council of proposed Island Museum of Cyprus.²

July 2. At Limassol "on his way to Alexandria on leave of absence."³

July 11. On board H.M.S. *Invincible* (the flagship of Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour) witnesses the Bombardment of Alexandria.⁴

Cyprus, etc., March 18, 1882. *Kathleen* was a "well-dressed Arab" (*Cyprus Herald*, March 22, 1882).

Cyprus, etc., June 24, 1882.

Cyprus Herald, July 5, 1882.

An interesting account of the bombardment by an eyewitness appeared in the *Cyprus Herald*.

July 30.

“Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E., Director of Survey, arrived in Limassol by the mail steamer on Sunday.”¹

Sept. 13. Wolseley defeats Egyptian Army at Battle of Tel-el-Kebir.

Oct. 15.

“Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E., Director of Survey, arrived [in Limassol] on Sunday from Nicosia.”²

Oct. 18. Again in Limassol.

Oct. 21. Returns to Nicosia.

Nov. 8–9. At Larnaca.

Dec. 15. Out with the Nicosia Harriers.

¹ *Cyprus Herald*, August 5, 1882. Mr. Winston Churchill was misinformed when he stated in his “The River War” that Kitchener “served through the campaign of 1882” as a major of Egyptian cavalry. “He did not serve in the Tel-el-Kebir campaign” (Sir Evelyn Wood).

² *Ibid.*, October 17, 1882.

Dec. 21.

“Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E., Director of Survey, arrived in Limassol on Thursday last.”¹

Sir Evelyn Wood at Cairo taking command of new Egyptian Army.

1883, *Jan. 1.*

“Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E., Director of Survey, passed through here [Limassol] on Monday last on his way to Egypt. I hear that he has been offered an opportunity as second in command of a cavalry regiment in the Egyptian Army.”²

Jan. 4. Kitchener becomes Captain in the British Army.

Jan. 8. At Gezeereh, with Colonel Taylor, selecting officers for Egyptian cavalry.

“Unless the Egyptian army is to be nothing better than an armed rabble, its officers must

¹ *Cyprus Herald*, December 25, 1882.

² Limassol correspondent of *Cyprus Herald*. *Cyprus Herald*, January 8, 1883. In joining the Egyptian Army Kitchener made a considerable pecuniary sacrifice.

be well trained in the practical work of their profession ; yet a more ignorant and shiftless leader of men than the ordinary Egyptian officer it would be impossible to discover, at least in a civilized country. Some exception may be made in favour of the artillery ; but as a rule infantry officers know hardly anything beyond the merest elements of drill, while cavalry officers can scarcely do more than sit in their saddles. I question very much whether one in ten of them could maintain his equilibrium of mind and body under the ordeal of jumping a three-foot wall. The other day I went to see twenty-two of them tested in horsemanship. The twenty-two had been picked out of a large number that had already been examined, as regards general qualifications, before a committee of English officers, among whom Sir Evelyn Wood himself was sometimes present. The object of the test was to select four captains, four lieutenants, and four sub-lieutenants for the single cavalry regiment which is to form part of the new army, and of which five hundred men are to be enrolled as soon as their native officers have been put in training. Colonel Taylor, who is to command the cavalry regiment, conducted the examination. The first performance, carried out at slow walking pace, was satisfactorily gone through, barring a few instances in which the riders stooped or held their knees too far forward and their heels too

much in the other direction. But the trot round, circus fashion, and without stirrups, sorely troubled the flower of Egyptian chivalry. One gentleman, an adjutant-major, who, I believe, 'fought' at Tel-el-Kebir, lurched from side to side, as if he were about to 'heel' over. Another, also a member of the rebel army, bobbed backwards and forwards as if he meant to perform a somersault over his horse's head or tail. If Colonel Taylor had only had a long whip to crack and flourish as the procession went round, the comparison of the scene to a circus rehearsal would not have been altogether inappropriate. A third warrior gripped his horse's shoulders for dear life, whilst his feet stiffened out, splay-wise, from the animal's sides. And when they stopped short in mid-career, fully one-half of them were too perceptibly jerked on to the pommels of their saddles. Bigger horses and rougher exercise would have shaken the teeth out of them. Six or seven of the riders were 'cast,' and after some deliberation one adjutant-major, three captains, four lieutenants, and six sub-lieutenants were selected to join the new regiment. These officers are to proceed at once to the training school at Abbasiyeh, here they will be exercised eight hours a day for the next six months in horsemanship, drill, and field movements. And, by the way, within the next six months also, the two English officers attached to this regi-

ment, and, indeed, all English officers in the Egyptian military and gendarmerie services, will have to pass in colloquial Arabic.

To return to our cavalry. There is less trouble in selecting good non-commissioned officers and men than in choosing members of the commissioned grades. There will, however, be some difficulty in mounting them properly. Fully a third of the 440 horses which I saw at Gezeereh, the scene of the riding test, were the merest 'screws,' mere frameworks of hair and bones, more fit for the knacker's yard than for service on the Abyssinian and Bedouin frontiers. These animals must, of course, be 'cast,' and some time will pass before they are replaced. And lastly, the uniforms have yet to be made. In fact, the patterns and styles of the uniforms for the new cavalry, infantry, and artillery were passed only yesterday by General Sir Evelyn Wood."¹

¹ *Daily News*, January 30, 1883. The date, January 8, when Colonel Taylor made his inspection, is given by the *Daily News* correspondent, Mr. John Macdonald, in an article published in the *Nineteenth Century* of October 1898. He there mentions that Kitchener accompanied himself and Colonel Taylor. We give below the often-quoted passage from this article; it will be noted that there are some trifling differences between the two narratives; e.g. in the *Daily News* twenty-two, in the *Nineteenth Century* some forty men were inspected. The number of horses—440—is the same in both accounts.

"Taylor had invited me the night before to accompany

Jan. 12. At Limassol.

“LIMASSOL,
14th January.

Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E., Director of Survey, passed through Limassol to Nicosia on Friday last, having come from Egypt. I

him and his friend and witness the operation which they were both to supervise. A tall, slim, thin-faced, slightly stooping figure in long boots, ‘cut-away’ dark morning-coat and Egyptian Fez somewhat tilted over his eyes—such, as I remember him, was the young soldier who was destined to fulfil Gordon’s task of ‘smashing the Mahdi.’

‘He’s quiet,’ Taylor whispered to me, as we were getting ready . . . ; ‘that’s his way.’ And again, with the characteristic jerk of the head, which all will remember who knew Taylor, ‘he’s clever.’ And so, in the raw, greyish early morning of 8th of January, 1883, the three of us drove in our dingy rattle-trap over the white dusty road Nilewards to meet the fellah cavaliers. Taylor did most of the talking. Kitchener expressed himself in an occasional nod, or monosyllable.

At the barracks we found some forty men waiting. I remember Kitchener’s gaze at the awkward, slipshod group, as he took his position in the centre of a circular space round which the riders were to show their paces.

‘We begin with the officers,’ said Taylor, turning to me ; ‘we shall train them first, then put them to drill the troopers. We have no troopers just yet, though we have 440 horses ready for them.’ And now began the selection of the fellah officers. They were to be tested in horsemanship. The first batch of them were ordered to mount. Round they went, Indian file, Kitchener, like a circus master, standing in the centre. Had he flourished a long

understand that Mr. Kitchener has accepted the appointment of Second-in-Command of a cavalry regiment in the new Egyptian Force, which is to consist of one cavalry regiment, four batteries of artillery and four battalions of infantry.”¹

Feb. 12. Leaves Larnaca for Egypt by s.s. *Elpitha*.²

“CYPRUS,
March 4, 1883.

To the Honorable Captain Kitchener, R.E.

SIR,—We, the undersigned have the honour to express to you their deep regret on your leaving the public service of Cyprus, where for several years you have administered the Land

whip, he might have passed for a showmaster at rehearsal. Neither audible nor visible sign did he give of any feeling aroused in him by a performance mostly disappointing and sometimes ridiculous. His hands buried in his trouser-pockets, he quietly watched the emergence of the least unfit. . . .

In half an hour or so the first native officers of the new fellah cavalry were chosen. It was then that Kitchener made his longest speech. ‘We’ll have to drive it into those fellows,’ he muttered, as if thinking aloud.”

¹ Limassol correspondent of *Cyprus Herald*. *Cyprus Herald*, January 15, 1883.

² *Cyprus Herald*, February 26, 1883. The *Elpitha* was a ship of 462 tons.

Registry Office. The mission confided to you by the Government was of the greatest importance, and your duty was always performed with zeal and intelligence; besides, you have always shown the greatest courtesy to those who had to come to your office, and whenever your duty allowed, you rendered much assistance to those who had complicated land cases.

The formation of a Cyprus Museum for the preservation of the antiquities of the island is greatly due to your efforts.

We beg, therefore, to send you this token of our esteem.”¹

¹ The above address was signed by the Archbishop, the Bishop of Kyrenia, the Abbot of Kikko and thirteen other persons. *Cyprus Herald*, April 16, 1883. “A similar address was sent to Captain Kitchener from the Turkish inhabitants” (Ibid.). Kitchener was very popular with the French residents in Cyprus. His chivalrous conduct in 1870 was, it seems, already beginning to bear fruit.

CHAPTER III

In Egypt—Second-in-command of Egyptian Cavalry—Surveys Sinai Peninsula—Intelligence Officer for the Gordon Relief Expedition—Goes south of Dongola dressed as an Arab to obtain information—Accompanies Stewart's column to Gakdul—Commissioner on the Anglo-Franco-German Commission to delimit Zanzibar—Governor-General of Red Sea Littoral and Commandant of Suakin—His policy—Wounded at action of Handoub—Adjutant-General of Egyptian Army—At Battles of Gamaizah and Toski—Commands Egyptian Police.

1883, *Feb.* 21. Appointed Second-in-Command of Egyptian cavalry, then consisting of one regiment.¹

Sept. An Egyptian army, under Hicks Pasha, moves south from Khartoum to crush the Mahdi and his followers.

¹ The Army List says that Kitchener was employed with Egyptian Army from 21st February, 1883, to 20th February, 1885.

Nov. Hicks killed and his army destroyed by the Mahdiists.

Nov. 10. Kitchener leaves Suez to survey Sinai Peninsula and district south of the Dead Sea.

Nov. 20. Ascends Mount Sinai.¹

Dec. 3. Leaves Akabah ; subsequently visits Mount Hor and the ruins of Petra ; stays till December 27th at the southern end of the Dead Sea.

“On the 31st December [1883] I left Tell abu Hareirah with four Arabs of the Huweitât tribe of Egypt that had been sent to us at the Dead Sea with a letter from Sir E. Baring describing the disasters in the Soudan. . . . As the El Arish road was well known, I determined to march direct on Ismaïlia, thus striking

¹ “Accompanied by Sergeant-Major Armstrong, R.E., he ascended Mount Sinai (Jebel Musâ), 7,373 feet above the sea, on Tuesday, November 20th, and planting his theodolite on the roof of the little Mosque took a series of angles on all the conspicuous heights” (Professor Edward Hull, F.R.S., *Morning Post*, June 12, 1916). Professor Hull was one of Lord Kitchener’s companions on this dangerous expedition and commanded the party.

out a new line, and passing through much more interesting country. One of my party, Abu Suweilim, had been employed by Sir C. Warren in hunting the murderers of Professor Palmer, and was one of the most energetic, useful Arabs I have ever met : he had been the road we were about to take fifteen years before ; the others did not know the road at all, and were of the usual Bedouin type, lazy and greedy. . . . We pushed on over open country until dark, when we made our camp fire on an open plain with a number of Bedouin's fires blazing round us. I was passed as Abdullah Bey, an Egyptian official journeying back to Egypt after having been to Jerusalem ; and although it was only begun for that little while, I thus revived the name borne by a much more distinguished traveller, the great Sheikh Abdullah, and although it was only stated to stop the curiosity of the Arabs we met, I soon found I was called nothing else." ¹

1884, *Jan.* 6. Arrives at Ismailia.

¹ *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, October 1884, pp. 218-19.

Feb. Mahdiists rout Egyptians under Baker Pasha at battle near Tokar.

Feb. 18. Gordon reaches Khartoum.

Kitchener, on Intelligence Staff, keeps in communication with him.¹

June.

“It is rumoured that the Mahdi has gone to Khartoum, and that its surrender is shortly expected.”²

July 28. Leaves Wady Halfa for Debbeh.

August.

“Arrived at Debba [*sic*], I renewed acquaintance with Major Kitchener. . . . After staying at Debba six days . . . I . . . prepared to return to Dongola by boat. . . . Major Kitchener and I had arranged a partition of books before my start. I had ‘David Copperfield,’ which I knew by heart. . . . Major Kitchener had never read ‘David Copperfield,’ and, of course, on taking it up at once became profoundly interested in it.”³

¹ See Gordon’s Journal, a facsimile of which has been published by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

² Telegram from Kitchener quoted by *The Times*, June 4, 1884.

³ Mr. E. A. Floyer, in *The Field*, September 27, 1884.

“ DONGOLA,
November 20th.

Major Kitchener welcomed us very kindly, and assigned us quarters. He left Wady Halfa with his Abadahs on July 28th last, and since has been leading an exciting and dangerous life among the Dongolese. Matters were in the gravest possible condition when he reached Dongola, and it was only a question of hours whether everything south of Wady Halfa would not be completely in the Mahdi's hands. How a different aspect was put upon the situation would be too long a story to tell now. On August 11th he arrived at Debbah, and since that day he has not been living out of the sight, sound, and smell of the irregular horde of native soldiers. He speaks Arabic, and wears the native dress, and has evidently made up his mind neither to die of *ennui* nor isolation. The siege of Debbah by the Mahdi's Emir Mahmoud occurred before his arrival, and he had not even the luck to be present at the Battle of Korti, where the Mudir defeated the rebels and killed the Mahdi's nominees to his Mudiryeh in the persons of Mahmoud and Sheikh Heddai of the Shaggai tribe. The village of Debbah, which is close to the river, stands on a low mound, rising from bare plain of light loam. For miles to the west and two or three to the south and east there is no

vegetation, but this region, as well as much of the 'greater Egypt' along the margin of the Nile, could easily be subdued to cultivation. The inhabitants ran away six months ago, and when the Mudir's lieutenant, Nureddin Bey, commanded the garrison, which withstood the siege, he connected the mud walls, completely enclosing the buildings, with the exception of a flat-roofed, one-storey mosque standing 100 yards to the east near the river.

Major Kitchener then took the place in hand, levelled most of the mud walls inside the enclosure, and built a parapet, five forts, and a low protecting mud wall. He wished further to strengthen the work by a 14-foot ditch, but the money gave out, and it has never been finished. There is, however, at the points where the parapet and wall are most assailable, a protecting row of thorny bush placed 30 yards in front. As it is now the fortification is an irregular oblong, the greatest length being 180 by 130 yards, with mud forts at each of the corners. Technically the work is a blunted lunette, or nearly so, with a closed gorge. There is but one gun, a small brass one, which is placed in a reversed fort on the south side. The parapet has been raised so as to give the defenders a full sweep of the plain. Some 2,000 yards to the west are to be seen the rifle-pits and parapets thrown up by the rebels, whilst the ground in the vicinity is strewn with their cast-away

rugs and sandals. The Mudir's people assert that they killed several thousand—how many, I am ashamed to say.

The night I arrived at Debbeh a telegram came from headquarters at Wady Halfa to prevent me from proceeding further. Thus my projected visit to Ambukol was stopped. Inside the fort the Mudir's Bashi-Bazouks have erected hundreds of mat huts, and two or three mud ones. The place fairly reeks with effluvia, and, since Major Kitchener's time, they have lost scores of soldiers by small-pox, which has been raging fiercely. By military orders little or no information was allowed to leak out about the state of matters. The disease was, however, now abating, but it will be impossible to stamp it out while the huts remain. Major Kitchener has begged again and again to have them destroyed, but the Mudir's people object for fear of offending the Bashi-Bazouks. Some 500 soldiers, all their animals, together with some 300 or 400 women and children whom they have stolen from the natives, are herded in this enclosure. Is it a wonder that the rule of the Turks is disliked? If a villager loves his wife, mother, or sister, for 200 dollars or so, provided he has the money, he may purchase their freedom from the soldiers. If not, alas! The Arab tribes are ferocious, relentless, if you will, but they are not so terrible as the Turks are. The Mahdi, in his new exercise

of power, taking wives by the score as he pleases, and sending the husbands to be killed, divorcing others, and giving women away as if they were the veriest chattels, is, in thus emulating the Turk, getting himself rapidly disliked by his less fanatical followers. If Khartoum and all the country south of Wady Halfa is to be given up to barbarians, whether Turk, Mahdi, or wild Arabs, the pillage and bloodshed which must ensue will be terrible." ¹

Dec. Kitchener accompanies, as Deputy-Assistant-Adjutant and Quartermaster-General, Sir Herbert Stewart's desert column sent to raise siege of Khartoum and to save Gordon.

"KORTI,

December 29th (2.47 p.m.).

To-morrow the Guards and Mounted Infantry on their camels, with a troop of the 19th Hussars, under General Stewart, accompanied by Sir Charles Wilson and Major Kitchener, will escort a large convoy of camels, carrying provisions to the Gakdul Wells, a hundred miles distant, but on the desert route to Shendy. There—at the Wells—a camp

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, December 11, 1884. "From Dongola to Debbeh" (From our Special Correspondent). The correspondent was Mr. Bennet Burleigh.

and fort will be constructed, and the provisions will be left in charge of the Guards, whilst the unloaded camels will return under an escort of Mounted Infantry."

" KORTI,

December 30th (8 p.m.).

Lord Wolseley took up a position just in advance of the head of the column, and as the force marched past all saluted the General. It was an imposing display, for the front of the column was nearly a hundred yards broad and its length was about one mile.

It moved off at a slow walk, about two and a half miles an hour. The troop of Hussars scouted in advance and on the flanks, and another troop formed the rear-guard.

The Guards and Light Infantry led the column, and the Mounted Infantry marched in its rear, the baggage animals being in the middle.

Major Kitchener, accompanied by six Arab scouts, directed the route of the column. The huge force slowly wended its way across the plain, the last seen of it as it disappeared in the distance being a long low black body zigzagging towards the bare purple hills a score of miles away."¹

¹ Mr. Bennet Burleigh. *Daily Telegraph*, December 31, 1884.

1885.

“GAKDUL WELLS,
January 5th.

“On Sunday [January 4], Major Kitchener, Colonels Sawle and Bonham, Captain Dawson, and two corporals of Hussars, while reconnoitring in the direction of the Abu Halfa Wells, met a small party of natives with camels and asses laden with grain. These they captured, and while returning with them to the camp, they sighted on their right a large convoy of about seventy camels with fifty natives. Major Kitchener and his party at once galloped after them. On coming to close quarters with the natives, half the latter cut away the loads from their camels and let them loose, while the other half halted, and, forming in front of the camels, showed fight. Major Kitchener's party observing this, galloped hard, shouting at the top of their voices. This scared both the camels and the rebels and scattered them, thus enabling the British to capture nine camels laden with grain and flour.

As Major Kitchener's party was small, and it was near sunset, they returned to the camp with their spoil. At midnight a stronger party went out, and brought back eight camel-loads of dates, one camel, and some donkeys; but they did not sight any of the rebels. This captured convoy was bound for the Mahdi's camp.”¹

¹ Mr. Bennet Burleigh. *Daily Telegraph*, January 10, 1885.

Jan. 12.

“To-day made the acquaintance of my fellow D.A.A.G., Major Kitchener, R.E. He had come up with the first advance and remained here with the Guards. He now received orders to return to Korti. It was a great blow to him, and he was very much down on his luck in consequence.”¹

“KORTI,

January 16th (3.50 p.m.).

Kitchener returned from Gakdul to-day; he left it early on 14th.”²

Jan. 26. Fall of Khartoum and death of Gordon.

Feb. 11.

“At last on the 11th of February, a British column arrived [in the neighbourhood of

¹ Extract from diary of Colonel Willoughby Verner. *The Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1916, p. 285. Colonel Verner's article—"With Kitchener in the Gordon Relief Expedition"—should be studied by all interested in the psychology of Kitchener.

² Mr. Bennet Burleigh. *Daily Telegraph*, January 17, 1885.

stemmeh] under Sir Redvers Buller. . . .
th Buller came Kitchener. . . . He gave
his opinion that the reports that the
hdi had sent forces along both banks
the Nile] to attack us were correct. One
ious comment he made—namely, that the
ne ‘Omdurman’ was too prominent in my
es, adding, ‘It’s the same with everybody.
e must stop that, or people will forget that
artoum is our objective and always
l be.’ ”¹

Feb. 14. Buller retires from before
stemmeh.

‘I stood patiently by my camel with an
ort of the 19th Hussars commanded, I
ieve, by Major French, now the Field-
arshal.’ ”

Halt at noon “about twelve miles from
stemmeh.”

‘It was now that Buller . . . ordered
tchener to write a report on what he had
en able to ascertain about the fall of
artoum. . . . Kitchener had a rough port-
e table—the only one in the force. It con-

Colonel Verner. *The Nineteenth Century and After*,
just 1916, p. 287.

sisted of a wooden slab about two feet six inches by one foot six inches and a folding trestle. On this Kitchener set to work to compile his report, reading it out to me as he did so, and now and again referring to me for dates and minor details. . . . Later on we resumed our march on Abu Klea.”¹

Feb. 23. Dervishes, calculated by Kitchener to be 7,000 or 8,000 strong, approach Abu Klea. Buller decides to retreat. Kitchener insists that wells at Abu Klea must be filled in; Buller at first refuses, but finally allows the “principal well” to be filled in.

“Kitchener was on his feet in a moment.

‘Verner, you know the biggest well; get some men at once and fill it in.’ Then, turning to Wardrop, he said, ‘Go along and fill in the biggest well you can find. I’ll go and see about the rest.’”²

Feb. 25.

“At 12.30 a.m. on the 25th we reached a water post thrown out by Lord Wolseley into the Desert, about twenty-two miles from

¹ Colonel Verner. *The Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1916, p. 289.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 297–8.

Gakdul, and all hands realized that our water troubles were over." ¹

" KORTI,

February 25th (9.10 p.m.).

Major Kitchener has received a letter from General Gordon, dated November 26th last, requesting him to ask the members of the Press to thank the secretary of the King of the Belgians for His Majesty's gracious messages to the General." ²

" KORTI,

March 19th.

General Grenfell and Major Kitchener will leave here to-morrow, the latter to join the staff of General Wood, whose headquarters are at Debbbeh." ³

¹ Colonel Verner. *The Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1916, p. 299.

² *Daily Telegraph*, February 26, 1885.

³ Ibid., March 20, 1885. Mr. Wheeler ("The Story of Lord Kitchener," pp. 54-5), on the authority of Mr. Charles Lewis Shaw, the Canadian journalist (*Canadian Magazine*, March 1899), states that about this time Kitchener, by disguising himself as an Arab prisoner, detected a conspiracy in which the Mudir of Dongola was involved. "To it," says Mr. Shaw, "the treachery of the Egyptian garrison at Khartoum and the death of Gordon was due, and the preservation of the Desert Column can be placed to its discovery." Kitchener appears to have been within an ace of losing his life.

Kitchener finishes "Notes on the Fall of Khartoum."

"In my opinion Khartoum fell from sudden assault, when the garrison were too exhausted by privations to make proper resistance. . . . The memorable siege of Khartoum lasted 317 days, and it is not too much to say that such a noble resistance was due to the indomitable resolution and resource of one Englishman.

Never was a garrison so nearly rescued, never was a commander so sincerely lamented."¹

July 3. Sails from Alexandria for England on *Australia* (2,102 tons).

July 7. At Malta.

July 15. Presented at Osborne to Queen Victoria.

Oct. 17. Nominated British Commissioner on the Commission appointed by Great Britain,

¹ Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 2 (1886), pp. 25 and 27. The notes were finished before September 11, 1885.

France, and Germany to delimit mainland possessions of the Sultan of Zanzibar.¹

1886.

“ZANZIBAR,
June 9, 1886.

I have the honour to forward a special *procès-verbal* recording the unanimous opinions of the Commissioners.”²

Appointed Governor-General of Red Sea Littoral and Commandant of Suakin.

“HIS HIGHNESS’ STEAMER ‘GAFFARIEH,’
off Akik, October 15, 1886.

I beg to report that, on the morning of the 7th October, the friendly Arab tribes assembled round Tamai, attacked that place at dawn, and after one hour’s fighting captured the place by assault. . . . I started myself with a cavalry escort and some of the Camel Corps at 4.30 a.m. the next morning, and

¹ It appears that, but for Lord Salisbury, he would have been about this date employed on reconstructing barracks at Cork! (see *The Nineteenth Century and After*, August 1916, p. 300).

² Parliamentary Papers, Africa. No. 3, 1887 (Cd. 4940), p. 33.

reached Tamai at 8 a.m. . . . I immediately wrote letters from Tamai to the loyal people in Tokar, calling on them to deliver up the town to me at Akik. . . ."¹

" *October* 16, 1886.

I wish to open markets at Rarat and Mersa-Mubarak. There is no provision for this in Budget. Preliminary expenses each station £150; yearly salaries £400 each."²

Nov. 10 (*circa*).

"Tokar did not surrender. His Arabs would not fight. Not a shot fired."³

"SUAKIN,

February 6, 1887.

After the fall of Tamai I opened the town to Arabs from the interior, and wrote numerous letters to Sheikhs and influential men, promising them peace and forgiveness

¹ To Major-General Grenfell. Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 2 (1887), pp. 144-5.

² Telegram to Major-General Grenfell. Ibid., p. 144.

³ "Kitchener wires: 'Tokar did not surrender,' etc." (General Sir F. Stephenson to Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., November 10, 1886. Ibid., p. 142).

for what was past, and informing them that they could come and go from Suakin in safety. Gradually this was known to be true, and many Chiefs came in to see me. My general remarks to them were to the effect that they had brought the present state of anarchy and trouble (which they all complained of) on themselves, by following a wrong religion and false leaders, and that they must see to righting these matters, and not expect the Government to do it for them ; that I was quite happy if they preferred Mahdiism, but that if they wished for peace and tranquillity I recommended them to discard entirely this false creed, which attempted to place a Dongolawi on a par with the Prophet Mohammed, and not to allow any Dervish or follower of Mahdiism to enter their country.”¹

“SUAKIN,
April 14, 1887.

Mr. ——— would doubtless, if allowed, be able to run some profitable cargoes to the rebels, but I consider that the profit which might thus accrue to a single individual would

¹ To Sir E. Baring (Lord Cromer). Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 8 (1888), p. 3.

in no way benefit the community at large. He says that a few bales, more or less, of Manchester cloth, etc., will not prolong the rebellion. It is not the cloth, but the effect of feeding and clothing those who are at war with our allies, that I consider the important matter; and when both these enemies and our allies are in the immediate neighbourhood, the result would, in my opinion, be disastrous. Berber and Kassala may be Mahdiist without affecting our position or our Arabs in the same way as Tokar must do, being situated, as it is, in our very midst, and I have therefore told every one that when Tokar submits, or gives up Mahdiism, I will open trade everywhere.

In my opinion, the only way to deal with Arabs and to pacify the Soudan is by adhering to a straightforward, continuous line of policy, taking the greatest precautions that no doubt shall possibly exist in the Arab mind as to the absolute certainty and truth of one's word. By this means both confidence is gained, and respect and liking preserved, even though it is necessary to be severe with them at times." ¹

¹ To Sir E. Baring. Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 8 (1888), p. 14.

1888, *Jan.* 9.

To the Editor of *The Times*.

“SIR,—Mr. — in a letter published in your issue of the 22nd of December last, has misstated several facts with reference to Suakin, which, as they have a tendency to mislead the public mind and therefore injure the prospects of this place, I think it worth while to correct.

As the Egyptian official alluded to by Mr. — as having initiated an irritating policy and having attempted to re-tax and re-govern the people against their will, I can only give his statement the most unqualified denial. I have had written upon the gate of Suakin, ‘Peace to those who enter and who leave this place,’ and I have strictly carried out these principles. . . .

During my administration no one has ever been punished for previous acts of hostility or for present political opinions. . . . Mr. —, during his short visit to Suakin, apparently had not the time to discover the difference between rebel and friendly. The former were not, I am glad to say, at that time in the neighbourhood, but if Mr. — would revisit the place now he would have ample opportunity of inter-

viewing rebels, and of assuring himself of their purely pacific intentions. If the pacifying of these people is as easy as Mr. — states he knows it to be, why does he not visit the interior and attempt it? Why do refugees from the interior thank God for their escape? Why can none of them return, even when they have left their wives and families behind? Why have even natives to be paid highly to penetrate the country of his peace-loving inhabitants of the Soudan?"¹

Jan. 17. Attacks Osman Digna's camp at Handoub; is seriously wounded in the jaw.

¹ *The Times*, January 30, 1888. This letter was a reply to the letter of a queer philanthropist published in *The Times* of December 22, 1887. "I have no hesitation," Mr. — had written, "in saying that a more wicked and wanton policy has never been carried out towards a people who only wish to be left alone and have commercial dealings with European merchants, and who do not want to be re-taxed and re-governed by the Egyptians. . . . In the name of humanity not another Englishman should be allowed to fire a shot at a Soudani except in self-defence, and all influences should be brought to bear on the English Government to prevent any further of the sickening hostilities that have lasted for so long in that country." Mr. — was not the same person as the trader referred to in Kitchener's letter of April 14, 1887.

"CAIRO,

January 17, 1888.

In reply to my inquiry whether Kitchener's wound was serious, I have received following from Suakin :—

'Bullet-wound serious, comminuted fracture of right lower jaw.'"¹

Jan. 24. Kitchener at Suez.

March 15. At Suakin.

"CAIRO,

April 22, 1888.

I arrived at Suakin on the 6th instant. . . . With regard to the military works and defences of the town, I was much struck with the great improvement that has been effected by Colonel Kitchener since my last visit to Suakin in the autumn of 1884."²

May 26. Leaves Egypt for England.

Returns to Egypt, and is appointed Adjutant-General of Egyptian Army (September 13).

¹ Sir E. Baring [Lord Cromer] to Lord Salisbury. Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 8 (1888), p. 29.

² Major-General the Hon. J. C. Dormer to War Office. Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 8 (1888), p. 50.

Dec. 20. In command of the 1st Brigade of Soudanese at the victory of Gamaizah.

“Colonel Kitchener, C.M.G., R.E., A.D.C., led his brigade to the attack with coolness and gallantry, and well sustained his previous reputation.”¹

1889.

“SUAKIN,
January 1, 1889.

I feel convinced that had Osman Digna not been allowed to draw almost limitless supplies of all sorts from Suakin during the last summer, that he would have been utterly unable to maintain his position at Handoub and open trenches round Suakin in September when fully supplied. . . . It is extremely unpleasant to have to write on the subject of the attacks on me published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and other papers. I fully believe my administration at Suakin to have been as conciliatory as any of my predecessors. I always did my best to use all kindness, justice, and truth to those under my rule, and the spon-

¹ Major-General Sir Francis Grenfell to Major-General the Hon. J. C. Dormer. *The Times*, January 12, 1889.

taneous addresses I received from all classes on leaving the Government, together with the thousand ways their friendly feelings have been shown me since my return no longer in power, are a sufficient proof to me that what I tried to do was appreciated. It is absolutely false that I made raids to induce counter-attacks, in order to increase the garrison of Suakin. . . .”¹

We here insert Lord Cromer’s appreciation of Kitchener’s services as Governor of the Red Sea Littoral and Commandant of Suakin—

“*January 15, 1889.*

As regards the opening of trade . . . I am inclined to think that, judged by the light of subsequent events, Colonel Kitchener’s view of the situation a year ago was more correct than my own. It can scarcely be doubted that the supplies which the Dervishes were able to obtain facilitated their operations against Suakin. I have only to add that Colonel Kitchener is a very gallant soldier, who has

¹ To Sir F. Grenfell. Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 1 (1889), p. 35. Lieutenant-Colonel Holled-Smith, in September 1888, had replaced Kitchener as Governor-General of the Red Sea Littoral and Commandant of Suakin.

often risked and, at least on one occasion, very nearly lost his life in the performance of his military duties. In the conduct of civil affairs his task was one of very exceptional difficulty. . . . Sir F. Grenfell, on his return from Suakin, told me that no one possessed so much influence with the heads of tribes as Colonel Kitchener. . . . I do not think that I am committing any breach of confidence in stating that Mgr. Sogaro, who visited Suakin about a year ago, spoke to me on his return in the highest terms of Colonel Kitchener's administration." ¹

Aug. 3. Commands and leads charge of cavalry at the Battle of Toski.

"Colonel Kitchener, C.M.G., A.D.C., R.E., commanded the mounted troops with his usual activity and forethought, heading the enemy till arrival of the infantry, and making dispositions which greatly conduced to the success of the action and subsequent heavy Dervish loss." ²

¹ Sir E. Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer) to Marquis of Salisbury. Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 1 (1889), p. 29.

² Major-General Sir F. Grenfell to Major-General the Hon. Sir J. C. Dormer. *The Times*, September 7, 1889.

1890. In temporary command of Egyptian police.¹

March 18. Bismarck resigns.

1891.

“BERLIN,

December 2 [1891].

The *Freisinnige Zeitung* this evening reproduces from the *Nesser Zeitung* what were declared to be the words addressed by the Emperor [Wilhelm II] to the recruits of the 1st Regiment of Foot Guards quartered at Potsdam on the occasion of the administration of the oath of allegiance. The words were said to be as follows :—

‘Recruits, you have, in the presence of the consecrated servants of God and before the altar, sworn fealty to me. You are still too young to understand the meaning of the words which you have just spoken, but be diligent in following the directions and the teaching

¹ Lord Cromer (then Sir E. Baring) in his Report (February 9, 1892) on the Administration, Finances, and Condition of Egypt, writes, under the head “The Police”—

“On the whole, I consider that the progress made in this Department is most satisfactory, and that it reflects great credit on Colonel Kitchener and the officers under his command, the large majority of whom I may mention are natives” (Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 3 (1892), p. 428).

you will receive. You have, my children, sworn fealty to me, which means that you have given yourselves to me body and soul. There exists for you only one enemy, and that is my enemy. With the present Socialist agitation it may possibly happen that I may have to order you, which God forbid, to shoot down your own relatives, your brothers, and even your parents, but if I do so you must obey without a murmur.'"¹

¹ *The Times*, December 3, 1891. From this date onwards we insert some characteristic *dicta* and *scripta* of Wilhelm II. Before the publication of the "German War Book" in 1902 (see *infra*, p. 178), and even up to the German invasion of Belgium in August 1914, it was reasonable to doubt the authenticity of such statements as the above which were attributed by journalists to the Kaiser. The onus is now on him to prove that he has been misreported and (*i.a.*) that the War Book was published, and the atrocities by his troops during the Great War perpetrated, contrary to his express wishes. It must never be forgotten that a despot who was strong enough to dismiss Bismarck was *primâ facie* also strong enough to dismiss any officer or bureaucrat acting contrary to his intentions.

CHAPTER IV

Sirdar of Egyptian Army—Friction with Khedive—The River War—Battles of Firket and the Atbara—Letter to the Khalifa—Battle of Omdurman—Comments of Roberts, Major von Tiedemann, and Lord Salisbury on the campaign—Lord Cromer's estimate of cost of the Campaigns of 1896-8—The Fashoda crisis and meeting with Marchand—Reflections of Lord Salisbury on Kitchener's diplomacy—Governor-General of Soudan—The "Magna Charta" of the Soudan—Founds Gordon College and refounds Khartoum.

1892, *April* 13. Kitchener appointed Sirdar of the Egyptian Army.

Lord Cromer in his "Modern Egypt" observes—

"A better choice could not have been made. Young, energetic, ardently and exclusively devoted to his profession, and, as the honourable scars on his face testified, experienced in Soudanese warfare, Sir Herbert Kitchener possessed all the qualities necessary to bring the campaign to a successful issue. Like

many another military commander, the bonds which united him and his subordinates were those of stern discipline on the one side, and, on the other, the respect due to superior talent and the confidence felt in the resourcefulness of a strong and masterful spirit, rather than the affectionate obedience yielded to the behests of a genial chief. When the campaign was over, there were not wanting critics who whispered that Sir Herbert Kitchener's success had been due as much to good luck as to good management. If, it was said, a number of events had happened, which, as a matter of fact, did not happen, the result might have been different. The same may be said of any military commander and of any campaign. Fortune is proverbially fickle in war. . . . The fact, however, is that Sir Herbert Kitchener's main merit was that he left as little as possible to chance. A first-rate military administrator, every detail of the machine with which he had to work received adequate attention. Before any decisive movement was made, each portion of the machine was adapted, so far as human foresight could provide, to perform its allotted task.

Sir Herbert Kitchener also possessed another quality which is rare among soldiers, and which was of special value under the circumstances then existing. He did not think that extravagance was the necessary handmaid of efficiency. On the contrary, he

was a rigid economist, and, whilst making adequate provision for all essential and necessary expenditure, suppressed with a firm hand any tendency towards waste and extravagance.”¹

1894, *Jan.* The Khedive at Wady Halfa impliedly criticizes Kitchener's administration of the Egyptian Army ; Kitchener offers his resignation, which is refused.

“CAIRO,
January 26.

The Egyptian Government has issued the following official communication—

‘The Khedive is painfully surprised and affected at the rumours spread on the subject of his sentiments regarding the Army. The Khedive reserves to himself the right to establish the facts later on, but having it at heart to dispel these rumours without delay and to manifest publicly his attachment to his Army, he has now expressed in a General Order his entire satisfaction both with the native and British officers, and recognizes the services rendered by the British officers.’”²

¹ “Modern Egypt,” by the Earl of Cromer, vol. ii. pp. 87–8.

² *The Times*, January 27, 1894.

August. War between Japan and China begins.

“CAIRO,
September 20.

Sir H. H. Kitchener, the Sirdar, to-day addressed a formal summons to Ali Pasha Shereef to deliver up the three slave girls who were taken to his house at the beginning of last month, but subsequently disappeared, in order that they might appear as witnesses at the Pasha's approaching trial. The three girls have now been handed over to the Sirdar, having been brought from Ali Pasha's house.”¹

“ALEXANDRIA,
September 27.

A special army order relating to the case of Ali Pasha Shereef, charged with offences against the slavery law, states that the Sirdar is informed that, owing to the state of health of the accused, his life will be endangered if he is brought before a court-martial. The Sirdar ordered Bimbashis Penton and Spong, of the Medical Corps, to examine the accused, who three days ago reported him unfit for trial.

The accused having been informed of this opinion, and having intimated his desire to make a statement, the Sirdar detailed Bimbashi Judge and Sagh Mohammed Bedr, in

¹ *The Times*, September 21, 1894.

whose presence and in that of his legal adviser Ali Pasha signed a confession to the effect that he bought three Soudanese girls as servants for his *Daira*, where they remained until delivered by the Government; that he was guilty, being aware that he acted illegally, though through neglect; and that he regretted the occurrence, and begged pardon of the competent authority. The Sirdar thereupon decided that it was not necessary to proceed with the prosecution. The Khedive has approved this decision of the Sirdar's. Ali Pasha is over seventy, and suffers from heart disease." ¹

1895, *April* 17. Treaty of Shimonoseki ends Chino-Japanese War; China, defeated, cedes (*i.a.*) the Liao-tung Peninsula (with Port Arthur) to Japan.

April 23. Germany, Russia, and France protest against cession of Liao-tung Peninsula.

May 6. Japan abandons claim to the peninsula.

1896, *Jan.* Kaiser Wilhelm II telegraphs to President Kruger congratulating him on the fact that, "without any appeal for the help of

¹ *The Times*, September 28, 1894.

friendly Powers," he has defeated the Jameson Raiders.

March. Campaign for the recovery of the Soudan opens.

"Early in March, it having been decided to reconquer the Dongola Province, I have the honour to submit a report on the operations consequent thereon. . . . Orders for the advance having been received, a column moved across the frontier on 18th March, and traversing the Batn el Haggat, occupied Akasha. . . . Early in June the railway reached Ambigol Wells. Dervish patrols were seen in the neighbourhood, and having received information that more serious interference with the working parties was intended, I deemed it necessary to attack and drive the enemy out of Firket."¹

"June 7, 1896.

I surprised the enemy at Firket at dawn this morning; they resisted gallantly, holding hills and village, were completely defeated in

¹ Dispatch of Kitchener, *London Gazette*, November 3, 1896.

every position by our troops. Mounted troops acted on our left flank, completely turned enemy's position and cut off their retreat.

I have captured their camps containing all their camels, horses, donkeys, provisions, etc.

Our casualties are slight, and no British officers or men wounded.

All the troops behaved magnificently." ¹

"The cavalry [after the Battle of Firket] pursued to Suarda, which was occupied, and the Dervishes fell back on Dongola.

On the 4th August the railway was completed as far as Kosheh. The flotilla of four armed and three unarmed stern-wheelers arrived at Kosheh on 23rd August, and the forward movement of the troops of the Suarda garrison to Absarat took place on the same day. . . . Early on the morning of 20th September I occupied Hafir with a brigade, and the crossing of the whole force of upwards of 13,000 men and 3,200 animals was proceeded with as rapidly as possible and completed in thirty hours. A quantity of ammunition and grain, also a few prisoners,

¹ Telegram from Kitchener, *The Times*, June 8, 1896.

were taken at Hafir. The troops advanced on the evening of the 21st September, halting at Binneh, and reaching, on the following morning, the south end of Sowarat within six miles of the Dervish Camp of Dongola. . . . Meanwhile the gunboats, after passing Hafir, proceeded to Dongola, which the small garrison left by the Dervishes evacuated on their arrival; they captured the boats which were there, and, on their return to Hafir on the morning of the 21st, I again dispatched Lieutenant Beatty, R.N.,¹ with a gunboat to reconnoitre. . . . Early on the morning of the 23rd September the force advanced to attack the Dervishes; . . . on the nearer advance of the troops they retired to the rising ground on their left and subsequently were reported to be in full retreat. . . . The result of these operations has been to completely stop the constant Dervish raids and attacks on the villages between Assuan and Halfa, to add some 450 miles of the Nile Valley to Egyptian territory, 300 miles of which may be described as of great fertility, and to relieve, to their intense delight, the

¹ Now Vice-Admiral Beatty.

large and suffering population of the province of Dongola from the barbarous and tyrannical rule of savage and fanatical Baggaras.”¹

Nov. 9. Kitchener lands at Dover.

“Everything in the Province of Dongola is perfectly peaceful and the people are very much pleased at having got rid of the Dervishes. . . . The total length of railway from Wady Halfa to Abu Fatmeh, thirty miles north of Dongola, and the first point at which the Nile becomes navigable, will be 210 miles. About 135 miles of this line is completed, and the remainder is progressing at the rate of about a mile a day, and it ought to be finished by February or March. From Abu Fatmeh the Nile will be patrolled by the armed gunboats as far as Merawi,² 180 miles south of Dongola. . . . The Egyptian troops behaved excellently, and the credit they have received is nothing more than they deserve. Their discipline was perfect. . . . The Indians at Suakin

¹ Dispatch of Kitchener, *London Gazette*, November 3, 1896.

² Meroë.

were of great strategic value. They held the Dervishes there, and the moral effect was such that the enemy was unable to move and the whole of the Eastern Soudan was kept quiet.”¹

1897.

“I have the honour to report that on the 15th July, the construction of the railway from Wady Halfa having been pushed almost half - way across the desert towards Abu Hamed, I deemed it inadvisable to continue the work until the Dervishes had been expelled from that position which information led me to believe the Khalifa was about to reinforce. In order, therefore, to seize Abu Hamed and, at the same time, to cover the passage of the gunboats over the Fourth Cataract, I dispatched from Kassinger on 29th July a flying column under the command of Major-General A. Hunter, D.S.O. . . . Abu Hamed was stormed at 6.30 a.m. on 7th August. . . . A small number only of the Dervish garrison escaped, and, falling

¹ Statement by Kitchener to Reuter's Agency. *The Times*, November 10, 1896.

back on the reinforcements which were still some distance from Abu Hamed, the whole retired to Berber. . . .

Simultaneously with the advance of the flying column, one unarmed and six armed stern-wheelers, besides a quantity of sailing craft, were sent across the Fourth Cataract. . . . Meanwhile, reports having reached Merawi and Abu Hamed that the Dervishes were evacuating Berber, Major-General Hunter was ordered to push on with four gunboats to occupy that place. . . . The unexpected withdrawal of the enemy from Berber threw a great additional strain on the organization and transport of supplies. . . . In order to clear the districts round Berber of the presence of Dervish raiders from Osman Digna's camp on the Atbara, a small column was dispatched on 23rd October, under the command of Major-General Hunter, . . . but the enemy retired south before the arrival of the troops, and consequently . . . the column returned to Berber on 9th November. During this operation a post was established at the mouth of the Atbara under Lieutenant J. F.

Wolseley (Cheshire Regiment). . . . On 31st October the desert railway from Wady Halfa was opened to Abu Hamed, and the extension towards Berber was at once begun.”¹

Nov. 14. German troops landed in Kiao-Chau in China.²

1898, *Jan. 1.*

“I think that British troops should be sent to Abu Hamed, and that reinforcements should be sent to Egypt in case of necessity.”³

“HUDI CAMP, ATBARA RIVER.

April 10, 1898.

The army of the Emir Mahmud, which had, up to the 25th February, held a strongly

¹ Dispatch of Kitchener. *London Gazette*, January 25, 1898, I, 449, etc.

² It is significant that this, the first step to the attempted partition of China by Europeans, was taken by Germany. That the Kaiser’s “Yellow Peril” propaganda was designed to precipitate the German-modelled Japanese Army on the Russians, seems probable. Russia in March of the next year (1898) obtained Port Arthur from China and this led up to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5.

³ Telegram of Kitchener to Lord Cromer. “Modern Egypt,” vol. ii. p. 96.

entrenched position at Metemmeh, having crossed the river to Shendy on that date, reliable information was received that the Khalifa had ordered him to advance, attack Berber, and destroy the railway at Genei-netti.

After some delay in making preparations, Mahmud's force moved north from Shendy on the 12th March, our gunboats on the river keeping in touch with and harassing the advancing army as far as Aliab, from which point Mahmud left the Nile and struck across the desert to the Atbara River, which he reached between Nakheila and Fahada on the 20th March. . . . Finding that we were in force at Ras-el-Hudi, Mahmud, instead of advancing as he originally intended, decided to entrench his position and await supplies from the Khalifa. . . . I now determined to attack Mahmud's position, and accordingly advanced on the morning of the 6th April to Umdabia. . . . At 7.15 a.m. (April 8) the infantry were ordered to form in column for assault. . . . At 7.40 a.m. I sounded the general advance, and as the infantry approached the crest line dominating

the trenches, the enemy opened fire, gradually increasing in intensity as the crest was reached, and the assaulting columns, now suffering many casualties, steadily and unflinchingly bore down towards the zareba, with pipes and bands playing; advancing by successive rushes, they surmounted this obstacle, carrying most gallantly the first line of trenches and stockades at the point of the bayonet. The guns and Maxims accompanying the infantry swept the trenches and ground in front, with case and Maxim fire.

The advance through the 'Dem' was steadily continued, trench after trench being cleared, down to the river-bank, where the troops arrived at 8.35 a.m. and re-formed. . . .

My special thanks are due to Major-General Hunter; . . . to his care and foresight I attribute much of the success which has attended the campaign on the Atbara."¹

“ OMDURMAN,

September 5, 1898.

It having been decided that an Expedi-

¹ Dispatch of Kitchener. *London Gazette*, May 24, 1898.

tionary Force of British and Egyptian troops should be sent against the Khalifa's Army in Omdurman, I have the honour to inform you that the following troops were concentrated at the north end of the Sixth Cataract, in close proximity to which an advanced supply depôt had been previously formed at Nasri Island. . . . On 24th August the troops began moving by successive divisions to Jebel Royan, where a depôt of supplies and a British communication hospital of two hundred beds were established.

On 28th August the army marched to Wadi el Abid, and on the following day proceeded to Sayal, from whence I dispatched a letter to the Khalifa, warning him to remove his women and children, as I intended to bombard Omdurman unless he surrendered." ¹

"30th August, 1898.

*To Abdulla, son of Mohamed El Taaishi,
Head of the Soudan.*

Bear in your mind that your evil deeds

¹ Dispatch of Kitchener. *London Gazette*, September 30, 1898.

throughout the Soudan, particularly your murdering a great number of the Mohammedans without cause or excuse, besides oppression and tyranny, necessitated the advance of my troops for the destruction of your Throne, in order to save the country from your devilish doings and iniquity. Inasmuch as there are many in your keeping for whose blood you are held responsible—innocent, old, and infirm, women and children, and others—abhorring you and your Government, who are guilty of nothing ; and because we have no desire that they should suffer the least harm, we ask you to have them removed from the Dem to a place where the shells of guns and bullets of rifles shall not reach them. If you do not do so, the shells and bullets cannot recognize them, and will consequently kill them, and afterwards you will be responsible before God for their blood. Stand firm, you and your helpers, only in the field of battle to meet the punishment prepared for you by the praised God. But if you and your Emirs incline to surrender to prevent blood being shed, we shall receive your Envoy with due welcome, and be

sure that we shall treat you with justice and peace.

(Sealed) KITCHENER,
Sirdar of the troops in the Soudan.”¹

Sept. 1.

“The gunboats, under Commander Keppel, which had shelled the Dervish advanced camp near Kerreri on 31st August, proceeded at daylight on 1st September, towing the Howitzer Battery to the right bank, whence, in conjunction with the Irregulars under Major Stuart Wortley, their advance south was continued. After two forts had been destroyed and the villages gallantly cleared by the Irregulars, the howitzers were landed in a good position on the right bank, from whence an effective fire was opened on Omdurman, and after a few rounds the conspicuous dome over the Mahdi’s tomb was partially demolished, whilst the gunboats, steaming past the town, also effectually bombarded the forts, which replied with a heavy but ill-directed fire.”²

¹ “Khartoum Campaign, 1898,” by Bennet Burleigh, pp. 234-5.

² Dispatch of Kitchener. *London Gazette*, September 30, 1898.

“ Information was received that the Khalifa contemplated a night attack on our position, and preparations to repel this were made; at the same time the Egeiga villagers were sent out to obtain information in the direction of the enemy's camp with the idea that we intended a night attack, and, this coming to the Khalifa's knowledge, he decided to remain in his position ; consequently we passed an undisturbed night in the zareba. . . .”¹

Sept. 2. Battle of Omdurman.

“ At dawn on the following morning (2nd September) our mounted patrols reported the enemy advancing to attack, and by 6.30 a.m. the Egyptian Cavalry, which had been driven in, took up a position with the Horse Artillery, Camel Corps, and four Maxims on the Kerreri ridge, on our right flank.

At 6.40 a.m. the shouts of the advancing Dervish army became audible, and a few minutes later their flags appeared over the rising ground, forming a semicircle round our left and front

¹ Dispatch of Kitchener. *London Gazette*, September 30, 1898.

faces. The guns of the 32nd Field Battery opened fire at 6.45 a.m. at a range of 2,800 yards, and the Dervishes, continuing to advance rapidly, delivered their attack with all their accustomed dash and intrepidity. In a short time the troops and Maxims on the left and front were hotly engaged, whilst the enemy's riflemen, taking up positions on the slopes of Jebel Surgham, brought a long-range fire to bear on the zareba, causing some casualties, and their spearmen, continually reinforced from the rear, made attempt after attempt to reach our lines.

Shortly after 8 a.m. the enemy's main attack was repulsed. At this period a large and compact body of Dervishes was observed attempting to march round our right, and, advancing with great rapidity, they soon became engaged with our mounted troops on the Kerreri ridge. One of the gunboats, which had been disposed to protect the river flanks, at once proceeded down stream to afford assistance to the somewhat hardly pressed mounted troops, and, coming within close range of the Dervishes, inflicted heavy loss on them, upwards of 450 men being

killed in a comparatively circumscribed area. The Artillery and Maxims on the left face of the zareba also co-operated, and the enemy was forced to retire again under cover of the hills.

All attacks on our position having failed, and the enemy having retired out of range, I sent out the 21st Lancers to clear the ground on our left front, and head off any retreating Dervishes from the direction of Omdurman. After crossing the slopes of Jebel Surgham they came upon a body of Dervishes concealed in a depression of the ground; these they gallantly charged, but finding, too late to withdraw, that a much larger body of the enemy lay hidden, the charge was pressed home through them, and, after rallying on the other side, they rode back, driving off the Dervishes and remaining in possession of the ground. Considerable loss was inflicted on the enemy, but I regret to say that here fell Lieutenant R. Grenfell (12th Lancers) and 20 men.

Meanwhile I had ordered the army to follow in echelon of brigades from the left. At 9.30 a.m. the front brigades having

reached the sand ridge running from the west end of Jebel Surgham towards the river, a halt was ordered to enable the rear brigades to get into position; and I then received information that the Khalifa was still present in force on the left slopes of Surgham. A change of front half-right of the three leading brigades was therefore ordered, and it was during this movement that MacDonald's Brigade became hotly engaged, whilst taking up position on the right of the echelon.

Learning from General Hunter, who was with MacDonald's Brigade, that he might require support, I dispatched Wauchope's Brigade to reinforce him, and ordered the remaining brigades to make a further change half-right.

No sooner had MacDonald repelled the Dervish onslaught than the force, which had retired behind the Kerreri Hills, emerged again into the plain and rapidly advanced to attack him, necessitating a further complete change of front of his brigade to the right. This movement was admirably executed, and now, supported by a portion of Wauchope's Brigade on the right and by

Lewis's Brigade enfilading the attack on the left, he completely crushed this second most determined Dervish charge.

Meantime Maxwell's and Lyttelton's Brigades had been pushed on over the slopes of Jebel Surgham, and, driving before them the Dervish forces under the Khalifa's son, Osman Sheikh ed Din, they established themselves in a position which cut off the retreat on Omdurman of the bulk of the Dervish army, who were soon seen streaming in a disorganized mass towards the high hills many miles to the west, closely pursued by the mounted troops, who cleared the right front and flanks of all hesitating and detached parties of the enemy.

The battle was now practically over, and Lyttelton's and Maxwell's Brigades marched down to Khor Shambat, in the direction of Omdurman, which was reached at 12.30 p.m., and here the troops rested and watered. The remainder of Hunter's Division and Wauchope's Brigade reached the same place at 3 p.m.

At 2 p.m. I advanced with Maxwell's Brigade and the 32nd Field Battery through the suburbs of Omdurman to the great wall

of the Khalifa's enclosure ; and, leaving two guns and three battalions to guard the approaches, the 13th Soudanese Battalion and four guns (32nd Field Battery) were pushed down by the north side of the wall to the river, and, accompanied by three gunboats which had been previously ordered to be ready for this movement, these troops penetrated the breaches in the wall made by the howitzers, marched south along the line of forts, and, turning in at the main gateway, found a straight road leading to the Khalifa's house and Mahdi's tomb. These were speedily occupied, the Khalifa having quitted the town only a short time before our entry, after a vain effort to collect his men for further resistance.

The gunboats continued up the river, clearing the streets of Dervishes, and having returned to the remainder of the brigade left at the corner of the wall, these were pushed forward and occupied all the main portions of the town. Guards were at once mounted over the principal buildings and Khalifa's stores, and after visiting the prison and releasing the European prisoners, the troops

bivouacked at 7 p.m. around the town, after a long and trying day, throughout which all ranks displayed qualities of high courage, discipline, and endurance.

The gunboats and Egyptian Cavalry and Camel Corps at once started in pursuit south ; but owing to the exhausted condition of the animals and the flooded state of the country, which prevented them from communicating with the gunboat carrying their forage and rations, they were reluctantly obliged to abandon the pursuit, after following up the flying Khalifa for 30 miles through marshy ground. The gunboats continued south for 90 miles, but were unable to come in touch with the Khalifa, who left the river and fled westward towards Kordofan, followed by the armed friendly tribes, who took up the pursuit on the return of the mounted troops.

Large stores of ammunition, powder, some 60 guns of various sorts, besides vast quantities of rifles, swords, spears, banners, drums, and other war materials were captured on the battlefield and in Omdurman.

.

It would be impossible for any commander

to have been more ably seconded than I was by the General Officers serving under me. Major-Generals Hunter, Rundle, and Gatacre have displayed the highest qualities as daring and skilful leaders, as well as being endowed with administrative capabilities of a high order. It is in the hands of such officers that the Service may rest assured their best interests will, under all circumstances, be honourably upheld; and while expressing to them my sincere thanks for their cordial co-operation with me, I have every confidence in most highly recommending the names of these General Officers for the favourable consideration of Her Majesty's Government." ¹

.

"The result of this battle is the practical annihilation of the Khalifa's army, the consequent extinction of Mahdiism in the Soudan, and the submission of the whole country formerly ruled under Egyptian authority. This has reopened vast territories to the benefits of peace, civilization, and good government." ²

¹ Dispatch of Kitchener. *London Gazette*, September 30, 1898.

² Ibid.

Roberts's comments on the Battle of Omdurman were as follows :—

“The Battle of Omdurman was a proof that the Sirdar possesses all the qualities which are necessary for a general commanding an army in the field: clear judgment, sound common sense, tenacity of purpose, quickness of perception, promptitude of decision, and, above all, an infinite capacity for taking pains, whilst his talent for organization has shone most conspicuously. It is owing to Lord Kitchener that the Egyptian Army has been turned into such a splendid fighting machine, and it is to the system of organization which he perfected in such a masterly manner that the several details of the campaign in the Soudan were carried out without a hitch in the face of considerable difficulties, and he was enabled to concentrate his force on the plains of Omdurman almost to the hour at which he had predicted long before that Gordon should at last be avenged.”¹

¹ *The Times*, December 2, 1898. According to Major von Tiedemann, a Prussian staff officer who accompanied the final advance on, and was present at the Battle of Omdurman, Lord Kitchener was (1) “the most remarkable personality among the officers who took part in the expedition”; (2) “generally reticent and unapproachable, but occasionally most amiable and positively charming, on those occasions showing a keen and ready wit”; (3) “al-

The late Lord Salisbury, who in his leisure moments studied Natural Science, came to much the same conclusions as Roberts. In a speech delivered in the House of Lords on June 8, 1899, he said—

“He [Lord Kitchener] will remain a striking figure, not only adorned by the valour and patriotism which all successful generals can show, but with the most extraordinary combination of calculation, of strategy, of statesmanship, which it has ever fallen to any general in those circumstances to display. . . . He took exactly the time that was necessary for

ways perfectly natural”; (4) “considered one of the best horsemen in the army”; (5) “absolutely indifferent to personal danger, yet never doing anything out of bravado,” and (6) at the Battle of Omdurman, “cool and perfectly calm—giving his orders without in the least raising his voice, and always making the right arrangements at the right moment.” A further extract from Major von Tiedemann’s work may interest the reader. “Thus he [Lord Kitchener] waited unconcernedly for the right moment, but pounced with eagle-like swiftness and certainty upon his prey and dealt the decisive blow in a surprisingly short time. He had neglected nothing; he had even pressed the moon into his service, and, well recognizing the danger of an attack from the Dervishes in the dark, he had taken such measures as to enable him to make his big move in the light of a full moon.”

his work, he made precisely the preparations which that work required, he expended upon it exactly the military strength which it demanded, and his victory came out with absolute accuracy, like the answer to a scientific calculation."¹

Lord Cromer furnishes us with the amounts of money expended by Kitchener on these, the only considerable campaigns for which he was permitted to prepare at his leisure—

“The total cost of the campaigns of 1896–8 was £E.2,354,000, of which £E.1,200,000 was spent on railways and telegraphs and £E.155,000 on gunboats. The military expenditure, properly so-called, only amounted to £E.996,000.”²

¹ Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords. June 8, 1899.

² “Modern Egypt,” vol. ii. p. 106. £E.1 at that date was equivalent to £1 os. 6d. The above appear to have been round figures. Lord Cromer in his Report on Egypt and the Soudan in 1898 estimates the military expenditure on the campaigns of 1896–8 at £E.996,223, and states that he has satisfied himself that the figures are approximately correct (see Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 2 (1899), p. 1).

Sept. 4.

“On 4th September the British and Egyptian flags were hoisted with due ceremony on the walls of the ruined Palace of Khartoum, close to the spot where General Gordon fell, and this event is looked upon by the rejoicing populations as marking the commencement of a new era of peace and prosperity for their unfortunate country.”¹

Sept. 7. Receives news that French troops are at Fashoda on the White Nile.

Sept. 10 Leaves Omdurman for Fashoda “with five gunboats carrying a detachment of the Cameron Highlanders, two Soudanese battalions of infantry, a battery of Egyptian artillery, and Maxims.”²

Sept. 19.

“The following morning, when steaming towards Fashoda, I was met by a small steel boat carrying a French flag, and pro-

¹ Dispatch of Kitchener. *London Gazette*, September 30, 1898.

² Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 3 (1898), pp. 3-4.

pelled by a crew of blacks with roughly cut paddles. A native sergeant came on board and handed me a reply to my letter from M. Marchand at Fashoda.¹

On reaching the old Government buildings, over which the French flag was flying, M. Marchand, accompanied by Captain Germain, came on board. After complimenting them on their long and arduous journey, I proceeded at once to inform M. Marchand that I was authorized to state that the presence of the French at Fashoda and in the Valley of the Nile was regarded as a direct violation of the rights of Egypt and Great Britain, and that, in accordance with my instructions, I must protest in the strongest terms against their occupation of Fashoda, and their hoisting of the French flag in the dominions of His Highness the Khedive.

In reply, M. Marchand stated that as a soldier he had to obey orders ; the instructions of his Government to occupy the Bahr-el-Ghazal and the Mudirieh of Fashoda were

¹ "M. Marchand" is the same person as the celebrated French general who was wounded severely at the Battle of Champagne in September 1915.

precise, and, having carried them out, he must await the orders of his Government as to his subsequent action and movements.

I then pointed out that I had the instructions of the Government to re-establish Egyptian authority in the Fashoda Mudirieh, and I asked M. Marchand whether he was prepared—on behalf of the French Government—to resist the execution of these orders ; he must be fully aware, I said, that the Egyptian and British forces were very much more powerful than those at his disposal, but, at the same time, I was very averse to creating a situation which might lead to hostilities. I therefore begged M. Marchand to most carefully consider his final decision on this matter. I further informed him that I should be pleased to place one of the gunboats at his disposal to convey him and his expedition north.

In answer to this, M. Marchand did not hesitate to admit the preponderating forces at my disposal, and his inability to offer effective armed resistance ; if, however, he said, I felt obliged to take any such action, he could only submit to the inevitable, which would mean that he and his companions would die at their

posts. He begged, therefore, that I would consider his position, and would allow the question of his remaining at Fashoda to be referred to his Government, as, without their orders, he could not retire from his position or haul down his flag ; at the same time, he said he felt sure that, under the circumstances, the orders for his retirement would not be delayed by his Government, and that then he hoped to avail himself of the offer I had made him.

I then said to him : ‘ Do I understand that you are authorized by the French Government to resist Egypt in putting up its flag and re-asserting its authority in its former possessions—such as the Mudirieh of Fashoda ? ’

M. Marchand hesitated, and then said that he could not resist the Egyptian flag being hoisted.

I replied that my instructions were to hoist the flag, and that I intended to do so. I then asked M. Marchand what part of Fashoda would be suitable for this purpose, and it was arranged that Colonel Wingate, accompanied by Captain Germain, should at once visit the locality and decide on a position. I eventually approved of the selection of a ruined bastion

on the south portion of the old Fashoda fortifications, about 500 yards from the French flag, and on the only road leading from Fashoda to the interior, as deep and impassable marshes exist both north and west of the old Mudirieh.

The Egyptian flag was hoisted on this position at 1 p.m. with due ceremony in the presence of the British and Egyptian troops, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired.

I should add that, in the course of the conversation, I informed M. Marchand that, in addition to my verbal protest, I intended to make a formal protest in writing, and this I duly handed him before leaving Fashoda.

During these somewhat delicate proceedings nothing could have exceeded the politeness and courtesy of the French officers.

Having officially appointed Major Jackson Commandant of the Fashoda district, and leaving with him a battalion of infantry, four guns, and a gunboat, I proceeded south with the remainder of the troops and four gunboats.

At 4 p.m. on the 20th instant the junction of the Sobat with the White Nile was reached, and here, amidst general rejoicings of the villagers, the flag was hoisted and half a

battalion of infantry, the remainder of the artillery and Maxims and a gunboat, were left as garrison of the station which lies on the left bank of the Sobat.

On ascertaining that the Bahr-el-Jebel was completely closed by the sudd, I left orders that gunboat patrols should proceed south up the Bahr-el-Ghazal towards Meshra-er-Rek with instructions to form the necessary posts in these districts, and having completed the arrangements for the maintenance of the stations, I steamed north with the remaining gunboats.

Considering that regulations were necessary regarding the transport of war material on the Nile, I gave prohibitive instructions on the subject, and when passing Fashoda on my return north, I sent a letter to M. Marchand, informing him of the regulation. . . .

I had no opportunity for a further interview with M. Marchand, who, I venture to think, holds at Fashoda a most anomalous position—encamped with 120 men on a narrow strip of land, surrounded by marshes, cut off from access to the interior, possessing only three small boats without oars or sails, and an

inefficient steam launch which has lately been dispatched on a long journey south, short of ammunition and supplies, his followers exhausted by years of continuous hardship, yet still persisting in the prosecution of his impracticable undertaking in the face of the effective occupation and administration of the country I have been able to establish.

It is impossible not to entertain the highest admiration for the courage, devotion, and indomitable spirit displayed by M. Marchand's expedition, but our general impression was one of astonishment that an attempt should have been made to carry out a project of such magnitude and danger by the dispatch of so small and ill-equipped a force, which, as their commander remarked to me, was neither in a position to resist a second Dervish attack nor to retire—indeed, had our destruction of the Khalifa's power at Omdurman been delayed a fortnight, in all probability he and his companions would have been massacred.”¹

¹ Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 3 (1898), pp. 3-4. Lord Salisbury's reflections on Kitchener's diplomacy at Fashoda were: “He is a splendid diplomatist. It would require talents of no small acuteness and development to

Kitchener returns to England.

Nov. 4. Speaks at the Guildhall.

“For a great enterprise a master-mind is necessary. Lord Cromer was our master-mind. It was due to his able direction that the reconquest of the Soudan was accomplished.”¹

Lord Salisbury, speaking on the same occasion, says—

“Lord Cromer is in the habit of saying that the Sirdar has almost missed his vocation, and that if he was not one of the first generals in the world, he would be one of the first Chancellors of the Exchequer. . . . It is a hazardous thing to say, but I am almost inclined to believe that the Sirdar is the only general who has fought a campaign for

carry to a successful result as he did that exceedingly delicate mission up the Nile” (Speech at the Guildhall. *The Times*, November 5, 1898). We now know from Lord Cromer’s letter to *The Times* of June 9, 1916, that Kitchener was given an entirely free hand by himself (Lord Cromer) and by Lord Salisbury.

¹ At the Guildhall. *The Times*, November 5, 1898.

£300,000 less than he originally promised to do it.”¹

Nov. 7. Kaiser Wilhelm II, in a speech delivered at Damascus, observes—

“The three hundred million Mohammedans who live scattered over the globe may be assured of this, that the German Emperor will be their friend at all times.”

Nov. 14. Kitchener speaks at banquet given in his honour at Hotel Cecil, London, by the London Society of East Anglians.

“He made a very simple and soldierly but telling speech in response to the toast of his health” (Sir Ernest Clarke).

Nov. 24. Kitchener addresses members of the Cambridge University Union Society.

“I am sorry that, owing to the want of a University training, I did not have the chance of exercising eloquence in a Society such as

¹ *The Times*, November 5, 1898.

this in my early years, and I am not very good at speaking.”¹

Nov. 29. Appeals at Edinburgh for money to found a Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum.

“We wish to prevent, as far as we can, the introduction with trade of those pernicious adjuncts, the liquor traffic and dishonest dealing with natives, which too frequently in new countries accompany it. We shall have to introduce or establish Government administration in these districts. We shall have to give justice to the people. We shall have to organize a police force. There is a great civilizing power in the policeman. . . . I should wish to see the English race step in and give what the Government cannot afford to provide—namely, education to the children of these poor people, who have suffered during thirteen years an almost indescribable oppression. They are an intelligent race, entirely uneducated. . . . Much might be said of how

¹ At Cambridge Union Society. *The Times*, November 25, 1898.

Gordon would have rejoiced had he known that by his death the blessing of education would be given to the people that he loved and among whom he died. Much might be said of what this gift will do to abolish fanaticism and slavery, but here, speaking to a hard-headed Scotch audience, I can only say I would like to remark that if you had left you a fertile property that had been for thirteen years uncultivated, you would have to spend something on tilling the ground before you could reap the harvest, and to all those who spend large sums in advertising their goods, surely it must occur that it would be a benefit to them if they spent money in teaching the inhabitants of this new market which has been opened to read their advertisements. . . . I ask the people of the United Kingdom, I ask the people in our Colonies, I ask the people in that great English-speaking sister-nation of America to help me to form a worthy Gordon memorial college at Khartoum. To you, Scotsmen, I can appeal with confidence. There is no one that has done so much for the civilization of Africa as Scotsmen, and if you help in this great work you will be only following in the

footsteps of those who have gone before. Remember Livingstone, remember Moffat, remember Gordon.”¹

Nov. 30. Letter of Kitchener to *The Times* asking for £100,000 for the endowment of a Gordon Memorial College at Khartoum.

“That region [the Soudan] now lies in the pathway of our Empire, and a numerous population has become practically dependent upon men of our race. A responsible task is henceforth laid upon us, and those who have conquered are called upon to civilize. In fact, the work interrupted since the death of Gordon must now be resumed. It is with this conviction that I venture to lay before you a proposal which, if it met with the approval and support of the British public and of the English-speaking race, would prove of inestimable benefit to the Soudan and to Africa.”²

Letter to Colonel Perkins with advice to the Portsmouth and Gosport Gordon Boys' Brigade.

¹ *The Times*, November 30, 1898.

² *Ibid.*

“ Please tell the boys it is by hard, steady work they will succeed, and that it is by earnestly and thoroughly doing their duty they will best follow in the footsteps of Gordon.”¹

Returns to the Soudan as its Governor-General.

1899.

“ THE ‘ MAGNA CHARTA ’ OF THE SOUDAN.

Memorandum to Mudirs.

1. The absolute uprootal by the Dervishes of the old system of Government has afforded an opportunity for initiating a new administration more in harmony with the requirements of the Soudan.

2. The necessary Laws and Regulations will be carefully considered and issued as required, but it is not mainly to the framing and publishing of laws that we must look for the improvement and the good government of the country.

3. The task before us all, and especially the Mudirs and Inspectors, is to acquire the

¹ *The Times*, December 1, 1898.

confidence of the people, to develop their resources, and to raise them to a higher level. This can only be effected by the District Officers being thoroughly in touch with the better class of native, through whom we may hope gradually to influence the whole population. Mudirs and Inspectors should learn to know personally all the principal men of their district, and show them, by friendly dealings and the interest taken in their individual concerns, that our object is to increase their prosperity. Once it is thoroughly realized that our officers have at heart, not only the progress of the country generally, but also the prosperity of each individual with whom they come into contact, their exhortations to industry and improvement will gain redoubled force. Such exhortations, when issued in the shape of Proclamations or Circulars, effect little ; it is to the individual action of British officers, working independently, but with a common purpose, on the individual natives whose confidence they have gained that we must look for the moral and industrial regeneration of the Soudan.

4. The people should be taught that the

truth is always expected, and will be equally well received whether pleasant or the reverse. By listening to outspoken opinions, when respectfully expressed, and checking liars and flatterers, we may hope in time to effect some improvement in this respect in the country.

5. In the administration of justice in your province you should be very careful to see that legal forms, as laid down, are strictly adhered to, so that the appointed Courts may be thoroughly respected; and you should endeavour, by the careful inquiry given by your Courts to the cases brought before them, to inspire the people with absolute confidence that real justice is being meted out to them. It is very important that the Government should do nothing which could be interpreted as a sign of weakness, and all insubordination must be promptly and severely suppressed. At the same time, a paternal spirit of correction for offences should be your aim in your relation with the people, and clemency should be shown in dealing with first offences, especially when such may be the result of ignorance, or are openly acknowledged. In the latter case,

they should be more than half pardoned in order to induce truthfulness.

6. Be careful to see that religious feelings are not in any way interfered with, and that the Mohammedan religion is respected.

7. Mosques in the principal towns will be rebuilt, but private mosques, takias, zawiyas, sheikhs' tombs, etc., cannot be allowed to be re-established, as they generally formed centres of unorthodox fanaticism. Any request for permission on such subjects must be referred to the Central authority.

8. Slavery is not recognized in the Soudan, but as long as service is willingly rendered by servants to masters it is unnecessary to interfere in the conditions existing between them. Where, however, any individual is subjected to cruel treatment, and his or her liberty interfered with, the accused can be tried on such charges, which are offences against the law, and in serious cases of cruelty the severest sentences should be imposed.

Inspectors.

You should divide your province into two approximately equal districts, and hold each

Inspector responsible for the exact execution of all Orders and Regulations in the district allotted to them.

Duties of Inspectors.

The Inspector is the Mudir's Staff Officer in charge of the district to which he is appointed by the Mudir. He will be responsible for the execution and enforcement in his district of all Orders and Regulations that are issued for the administration of the province, and for the smartness and discipline of the police.

He will be careful to strictly carry out the law as laid down, and make the Court over which he presides respected, and to see that the Mamurs in his district give proper punishments according to their powers.

It will be one of his most important duties to supervise the operations of the police and to see that they thoroughly investigate all criminal cases, and are employed in such a manner as to ensure the maintenance of public security.

He will not be a channel of communication

between Mamurs and the Mudirieh, that is, Mamurs will forward direct to the Mudirieh all Reports and Returns called for. He will, therefore, have no office staff, but will make himself acquainted with the work of the Mamurs of his district either in the central office or while inspecting the Mamuriehs.

He will be most careful to see that there is no oppression nor illegal taxation in his district.

He will report to the Mudir any official who fails to set a good example in the district by leading a moral and respectable life, or who shows negligence or incapacity in the performance of his duties.

Mamurs.

Instructions for Mamurs are as under. In addition to the duties specified it should be noted that they are responsible for the proper measurement of the land in their Mamuriehs and its correct registration.

Instructions to Mamurs.

The new position you are about to take up is an important and responsible one.

You should always bear in mind that you are the recognized agent in your district of a just and merciful Government, and as such you should do all in your power to gain the confidence and respect of the inhabitants, who should, in their turn, be made to look to and respect the Government of which you are the Representative.

In order to acquire and hold this position, you should bear in mind the following points, which are essential to the good government of your district.

You should recollect that this country has just been relieved from most oppressive and tyrannical rulers, who have plundered and enslaved the population, and engendered in them feelings of moral and physical fear, which it may take long to eradicate; your object should, therefore, be to make the government of your district as great a contrast as possible to that of the Dervishes. Every effort should be made to induce the inhabitants to feel that an era of justice and kindly treatment has come, with, at the same time, a vigorous repression of crime, and a determination to put down with a

strong hand any attempt of evil-doers to carry on the practices which, it is hoped, have disappeared with the flight of the Dervishes.

No doubt the local people will offer bribes, in order to try and secure the goodwill of their new rulers ; these offers must be resolutely and absolutely refused, and the people made to understand that they can acquire no benefits by such means, but are more likely to be severely punished. In all their dealings with the Government they should be convinced of its unity of purpose and justice ; nothing, therefore, should be taken from them without payment, in accordance with the fixed tariff, and every inducement should be given to them to bring their saleable articles and products to fixed market-places, where it is most important the regulation price should be adhered to. You should also endeavour, by all means in your power, to encourage the inhabitants to increase the amount of cultivation in the district. It is especially necessary that the women should be in no way molested, and that the Mamur of the district should be

not only an example of fairness and justice, but also of morality, by doing all in his power to improve the moral tone of the inhabitants in his charge, and by instilling into their minds that it is to him they should turn for a redress of grievances, being fully convinced that he will act as is best for their interest and advantage consistently with justice.

Every effort should be made to repress crime, and Mamurs have the power of sending offenders to prison for one day; but when, in their opinion, offences are committed which deserve more severe punishment, they should refer the case to the nearest Commandant, who will either deal with it in accordance with the military powers delegated to him, or will refer it to higher authority. Should it be discovered that you or any of your employés have been the recipients of bakshish of any kind from the local people, you will be liable to be tried by court-martial, and dismissed the service.

In any case of difficulty or doubt, you should at once refer to the nearest Military

Commandant, under whose general direction and guidance you will act.

(Signed) KITCHENER OF KHARTOUM."¹

Founds Gordon Memorial College.

"The main lines of what, I hope, will be achieved by the College is to give the most practical, useful education possible to the boys for their future in the Soudan. Arabic will certainly be the basis of education."²

Plans the new city of Khartoum.³

Replies to charges made against him and his army in the *Contemporary Review*.

¹ Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 1 (1900), pp. 55-7. The document is undated, but must have been published by Kitchener before February 20, 1900, the date of Lord Cromer's Report, enclosing it.

² Words of Kitchener reported by Lord Cromer (Egypt. No. 3, 1899, p. 6).

³ "He hit on principles of municipal ownership which anticipated Mr. John Burns's Town-planning Act and devised a system of radiating streets, which has the approval of the latest school" (Major Stanton, quoted by Mr. F. W. Hackwood in his "Life of Lord Kitchener," p. 179).

“ OMDURMAN,

February 1, 1899.

It seems to me scarcely necessary to enter at length into the cruel, and, to my mind, disgraceful charges brought against the troops under my command by Mr. — in the *Contemporary Review*, and somewhat modified in his subsequent explanation. . . . I hardly think it likely that Mr. — will find an exponent of his views in Parliament, but should he do so, I categorically deny the following charges—

That I ordered or gave it to be understood, that the Dervish wounded were to be massacred.

That the troops under my command, whether British, Egyptian, or Soudanese, wantonly killed wounded or unarmed Dervishes when no longer in a position to do us injury.

That Omdurman was looted for three days after its occupation.

That, when we were rapidly advancing upon the town, fire was opened by the gunboats on mixed masses of fugitives in the streets.

I would add that my action regarding the tomb of Mohamed Ahmed, the so-called Mahdi,

was taken after due deliberation, and prompted solely by political considerations.”¹

Pays a visit to England in the course of the summer.

¹ To Lord Cromer. Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 1 (1899), pp. 1-2. Kitchener amplified the last paragraph of the above letter in a telegram which is quoted by Lord Cromer in his letter to Lord Salisbury of March 12, 1899. “After the Battle of Omdurman,” he telegraphed, “I thought it was politically advisable, considering the state of the country, that the Mahdi’s tomb, which was the centre of pilgrimage and fanatical feeling, should be destroyed; the tomb was also in a dangerous condition owing to the damage done to it by shell-fire, and might have caused loss of life if left as it was. When I left Omdurman for Fashoda I ordered its destruction. This was done in my absence, the Mahdi’s bones being thrown into the Nile. The skull only was preserved and handed over to me for disposal. No other bones were kept, and there was no coffin.” In another telegram quoted in the same letter Lord Kitchener further explained his action. “I was advised after the taking of Omdurman, by Mohammedan officers, that it would be better to have the body removed, as otherwise many of the more ignorant people of Kordofan would consider that the sanctity with which they surrounded the Mahdi prevented us from doing so. . . . I feel sure that no Mohammedans in this country feel anything but satisfaction at the destruction of his power, together with all trace of his religion” (Ibid., p. 3). “The skull of the Mahdi,” wrote Lord Cromer, “was buried at Wady Halfa.”

July 18. Speaks at the Fishmongers' Company Dinner.

“In Gordon's time it took twenty-five days to go from Cairo to Khartoum, whereas one could now accomplish the journey quite easily in under five days.”¹

Returns to the Soudan.

Dec. 17. Appointed Chief of the Staff to Roberts, the new Commander-in-Chief in the South African War.

Dec. 21. Arrives at Cairo from Khartoum, his train having been derailed near Luxor.

Dec. 24. At Malta.

Dec. 26. At Gibraltar, where he joins Roberts on the *Dunottar Castle*.

“The Austrians, the Dutch, the Chinese, the Turks, the Russians, the English, the French, and the Americans will in turn deride ‘Ger-

¹ From speech at Fishmongers' Company Dinner. *The Times*, July 19, 1899.

man designs,' but all these Powers will be cleverly played off against one another, and while they are absorbed in mutual recriminations, or exhausting themselves in fighting, the German jackal will stealthily appropriate the bone of contention " (Mr. Leo Maxse).¹

¹ *National Review*, January 1900. From November 1899 up to the outbreak of the Great War Mr. Maxse "warned" by Mr. George Saunders, *The Times* correspondent in Berlin, Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Rowland Blennerhasset, and Sir Horace Rumbold, kept the politicians of both parties correctly informed of the designs of Germany. The debt which the nation is under to Mr. Maxse and his associates, to Mr. Arnold White, Mr. H. W. Wilson, Mr. Hyndman, Mr. Belloc, Mr. Blatchford, and others, and to the proprietors and editors of Germanophobe journals cannot be overestimated. What, we may ask, would have happened if those organs of public opinion had been Germanophil?

CHAPTER V

Chief of the Staff to Roberts in South African War—Appreciation of the journalist Steevens—Battle of Paardeberg—Commander-in-Chief—The Blockhouse System—Concludes peace with and conciliates the Boers—The “salt of life” speech—On the services of Lord Milner, French, and Haig—Conception of a United South Africa—Duties of capitalists towards discharged soldiers—On canteens—Military lessons from South African War.

1900, *Jan.* 10. Kitchener lands with Roberts at Cape Town, and begins the reorganization of the transport service.

“In January, 1900, I found it difficult to assemble a force of men and guns large enough for the advance on Bloemfontein, and I should have been relieved of many anxieties if I had felt justified in calling on the Government to send me immediate reinforcements of Regular units. At the time, however, the Regular Army in England (excluding the recruits at the dépôts) had dwindled

down to nine battalions and eighteen field batteries, and I was reluctant to put forth demands which would have caused a still further reduction " (Roberts).¹

Jan. 23.

" I was anxious to tell you how very sorry I was to hear of the death of Mr. Steevens. He was with me in the Soudan, and, of course I saw a great deal of him and knew him well. He was such a clever and able man. He did his work as correspondent so brilliantly, and he never gave the slightest trouble. I wish all correspondents were like him. I suppose they will try to follow in his footsteps. I am sure I hope they will. He was a model corre

¹ " Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission on the War in South Africa," vol. i. p. 433. The British Empire was perhaps, never in greater peril than in January–February, 1900. We had then no allies; we were at enmity with France; Russia was unfriendly; Germany was our secret foe; and the prestige of the British Army had been lowered by the defeats of Stormberg, Magersfontein, and Colenso. If Roberts and Kitchener had then failed us, we might have been confronted by a Coalition similar to that which was formed after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga in 1777. The politicians who in later years sneered at Roberts, who with Kitchener, had restored the prestige of British arms, were singularly ungrateful.

spondent, the best I have ever known, and I should like you to say how greatly grieved I am at his death." ¹

Feb. 6. With Roberts leaves Cape Town for the front.

Feb. 8. German Navy Bill introduced in the Reichstag ; in the preamble to the Bill it is stated that Germany must possess a battle-fleet of such strength as would make a war dangerous, even for the most powerful naval adversary.

Feb. 10-14.

"On the afternoon of the 10th [February] the Chief of the Staff communicated to the Lieutenant-General of the Cavalry Division the Commander-in-Chief's anxiety as to the position at Kimberley, and informed him that the cavalry must relieve the town 'at all costs.' . . .

The march of the VIth Division, with two naval 12-prs. . . . and Hannay's brigade, from Ramdam to Waterval Drift (nine miles) was carried out on the 13th without contact

¹ Verbal message of Kitchener to *Daily Mail* Correspondent. *Daily Mail*, January 25, 1900.

with the enemy. Army Headquarters were moved to Waterval Drift, but Lord Kitchener was ordered forward to the Modder with the VIth Division in order to superintend the arrangements for the final advance on Kimberley. . . . In pursuance of Lord Roberts' orders, Lieutenant-General Kelly-Kenny left Waterval Drift at 1 a.m. on the 14th with the VIth Division and the 4th and 5th Regiments of mounted infantry, the remainder of Hannay's brigade being left at Waterval to guard the crossing. Though Kelly-Kenny was not aware of the fact until the day had broken, the Chief of the Staff had marched with the VIth Division. . . . Though the infantry of the VIth Division had already made a nine hours' march, the Chief of the Staff feared that any delay would give the Boers time to strengthen, both by entrenchment and reinforcement, the ground they held, and render its capture a costly task. When he pointed out to General Kelly-Kenny that the execution of the Commander-in-Chief's plans required a special effort, that General once more started his infantry and naval guns. All ranks responded admirably to the call on them for further exertions. They marched off again at 5 p.m., and, notwithstanding drenching rain-storms during the night, reached the drifts on the Modder at 1 a.m. on the 15th. . . . Without the extreme exertions of the VIth Division on the 14th, carried on up to 1 a.m.

on the 15th, French could not have left Klip Drift when he did, and, had the Boers been given more time to prepare their defence and receive reinforcements, his attack would probably have been impossible. Nor must the effect of the quick recognition of the nature of the situation by Lord Kitchener and his eager pressing forward of the weary infantry to relieve the cavalry be left out of account as one of the decisive factors in the achievement. French pushed on to Abon's Dam, which he reached at 11.45 a.m. . . . Open country now lay between the British cavalry and the outworks of the besieged town [Kimberley]." ¹

Feb. 15, 6 p.m. Kimberley relieved by French.

10 p.m. Cronje evacuates his position at Magersfontein and begins his trek towards Bloemfontein.

"A bright moon favoured their progress, and keeping about three miles to the north of Kelly-Kenny's outposts, the column had

¹ The above extracts are taken from the "History of the War in South Africa, 1899-1902, compiled by direction of His Majesty's Government by Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.B., with a Staff of Officers," vol. ii. chaps. i. and iii. pp. 11-37 (Hurst & Blackett).

by daybreak marched across the British front. . . . At streak of dawn on the 16th Hannay's brigade . . . moved northward from Klip Drift, followed by the 81st Field Battery and the 13th Brigade, the whole under the command of Major-General C. Knox." ¹

Feb. 16. Knox, ordered by Kelly-Kenny to pursue Cronje, attacks the latter's rear-guard

"The Boer rear-guard fell back to the second ridge, and by 9 a.m. the whole of the first position was in the possession of the British troops. At the instance of Lord Kitchener who had now caught up the column, Major-General Knox prepared to attack the new line to which the burghers had retired." ²

"16th February, 1900, 4 p.m. Have returned from Knox's brigade, which has been already held back by Boers, who fight an excellent rear-guard action. He has turned them out of three successive positions. I would propose that Knox's brigade should bivouac about Paardeberg, to which point I had hoped the

¹ "History of the War in South Africa," etc., vol. i p. 81.

² Ibid., vol. ii. p. 84.

mounted infantry and artillery would have gone early, only unfortunately they stopped short of it. Hannay with mounted infantry to continue pursuit and keep touch with enemy, who are reported to be inclining to the north and not to have crossed the river. The rest of the VIth Division to join Knox's brigade about 1 a.m. to-morrow, and Colvile's division to follow evening of to-morrow, if they get in here at dawn. The enemy are very numerous and fight well and cleverly; I fear we have not done much damage to convoy, but we have hustled them all day. Telegraphic communication with French has been interrupted by convoy crossing the line. Break has now been found, and will be repaired very shortly. I will then try to get French to co-operate with us. If we only had time, I feel sure we should make short work of convoy, but, with the troops we have, it is a very difficult operation. I am sending Chester Master to Kimberley to-night to ask French if he could meet me at Koodoos Drift. The supply question is becoming acute. Please tell Richardson to let me know at once when [and] what we may expect to have as regards supplies. I hope

you will not send Smith-Dorrien's brigade to Brown's Drift, as it would be far longer march, and there would be nothing now there for a brigade to do." ¹

10 *p.m.*

"Captain Chester Master . . . arrived the Cavalry Headquarters with a written order from the Chief of the Staff, directing General French to move as rapidly as possible to intercept Cronje's retreat at Koodoos Drift. . . . Kitchener's intuition in assigning Koodoos Drift as French's destination was most happy."

Midnight. Main body of Cronje's convicts halts at Paardeberg Drift.

Feb. 17, 4.30 a.m. French and his staff leave Kimberley.

6 *a.m.* The 13th Brigade resumes its march.

"Lord Kitchener, eager to recover touch with the enemy, accompanied this brigade, and at 10 a.m. came into contact with the Boer rear-guard, which had occupied a conical hill north of Paardeberg Drift." ³

¹ Kitchener to Roberts. "History of the War in South Africa," etc., vol. ii. pp. 90-1.

² Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 96-7.

³ Ibid., vol. ii. p. 98

11.15 *a.m.* Head of Cronje's convoy, beginning to cross the Modder at Vendutie Drift, is surprised by French.

"As the afternoon wore on, Cronje's convoy still remained halted at Vendutie and to the westward. . . . The action, having regard both to the skill and audacity displayed by General French and to the immediate strategic results thereby obtained, must be reckoned amongst the great achievements of British cavalry in war."¹

Roberts detained by indisposition at Jacobsdal.

"JACOBSDAL,
17th February, 1900.

MY DEAR KELLY-KENNY,

. . . I hope to join you to-morrow; meanwhile please consider that Lord Kitchener is with you for the purpose of communicating to you my orders, so that there may be no delay—such as references to and fro would entail. If we can deal Cronje a heavy blow, it is likely that there will be no more fighting in the Orange Free State.

Yours very truly,
ROBERTS."²

¹ "History of the War in South Africa," etc., vol. ii, pp. 102-3.

² Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 104-5.

Feb. 18.

"By the early morning of the 18th February, Lord Kitchener had placed two divisions, as well as a brigade of mounted infantry, within striking distance of the laager which Cronje had formed when he was assailed by the shells of French's horse artillery. . . . Lord Kitchener decided to attack. An immediate attack, even if it failed to carry the laager, would, by destroying or dispersing the remaining horses and oxen, dispirit the defenders and chain them to the river-bed; bombardment alone, without such an attack, could hardly achieve those decisive results, for the sake of which it is often necessary to face the heaviest losses." ¹

*"From Lord Kitchener, Cable Cart, Front,
to Lord Roberts.*

18th February, 1900, 8 a.m.

We have stopped the enemy's convoy on the river here. General Kelly-Kenny's division is holding them to the south, enemy lining bank of Modder, convoy stationary in our immediate front. General Colvile's division has arrived, and they are putting one brigade and one

¹ "History of the War in South Africa," etc., vol. ii. pp. 103 and 111.

battery on the north side of the river, and one brigade and one howitzer battery on the south side, and will march eastward up stream. The mounted infantry have gone round, and hold the river on our right flank. I have been in heliographic communication with General French, who is opposite to us, in rear of the enemy's position; he is now moving down on opposite bank on our right flank. The enemy is thus completely surrounded and I think it must be a case of complete surrender. Will keep you informed as events occur." ¹

3 p.m. (*circa*).

"The time has now come for a final effort. All troops have been warned that the laager must be rushed at all costs. Try and carry Stephenson's brigade on with you. But if they cannot go the mounted infantry should do it. Gallop up if necessary and fire into the laager." ²

¹ Kitchener to Roberts. "History of the War in South Africa," etc., vol. ii. p. 123.

² Kitchener to Colonel Hannay. Ibid., vol. ii. p. 132. Colonel Hannay was unfortunately killed in trying to carry out this order.

*"From Lord Kitchener, Cable Cart, E. of
Paardeberg, to Lord Roberts.*

(Received at 7.40 p.m.)

18th February, 1900.

We did not succeed in getting into the enemy's convoy, though we drove the Boers back a considerable distance along the river-bed. The troops are maintaining their position, and I hope to-morrow we shall be able to do something more definite. Late this afternoon the Boers developed an attack on our right, which is still going on, but is kept under control by our artillery. Our casualties have, I fear, been severe. Owing to the bush fighting near the river I have not been able to get lists yet, but will send them as soon as possible."¹

¹ "History of the War in South Africa," etc., vol. ii. p. 142. The casualties were 1,270 killed, wounded, and missing (Ibid., vol. ii. p. 143). The tactics of Kitchener at the Battle of Paardeberg have been criticized adversely, but, as the late General Maurice observed, Kitchener "entirely lacked any staff adequate to watch over for him the general scope of the action. . . . Cronje's mobility was destroyed, his oxen and horses killed or scattered, the spirit of his burghers crushed. The Boer commandos imprisoned in the bed of the Modder were, in fact, doomed" (Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 112, 144).

Feb. 27. Cronje surrenders to Roberts.

March 31.

"I consider he [Kitchener] has rendered invaluable service to the State in his onerous and responsible position."¹

July 27. Kaiser Wilhelm II at Bremerhaven delivers his "Hun" speech.

"When you meet the foe you will defeat him. No quarter will be given, no prisoners will be taken. Let all who fall into your hands be at your mercy. Just as the Huns a thousand years ago, under the leadership of Attila, gained a reputation in virtue of which they still live in historical tradition, so may the

¹ Dispatch of Roberts dated March 31, 1900. *London Gazette*, February 8, 1901. In his dispatch of April 2, 1901 (*London Gazette*, April 16, 1901), Roberts wrote—

"General Lord Kitchener of Khartoum . . . has, as my Chief of the Staff, rendered me unfailing and very loyal support, and I am greatly indebted to him for the valuable assistance he has at all times afforded me.

He has held a difficult position, and he has discharged its duties with conspicuous ability. I left the command of the army in South Africa to my late Chief of the Staff with the utmost confidence that he would do all that man could do to bring the present phase of the war to a speedy conclusion."

name of Germany become known in such a manner in China that no Chinaman will ever again even dare to look askance at a German.”¹

Aug. European-Japanese-American forces enter Peking.

Dec. Return of Roberts to England. Kitchener being left behind as Commander-in-Chief in South Africa.

1901.

“28th February, 1901.

I have had a long interview with Botha, who showed very good feeling and seemed anxious to bring about peace. . . . He tried very hard for some kind of independence, but I declined to discuss such a point, and said that a modified form of independence would be most dangerous and likely to lead to war in the future.”²

¹ Translation from the Bremen *Weser Zeitung*, published by *The Times*, July 30, 1900. The onus is now on the Kaiser to prove that he did not give this horrible order to his troops.

² Kitchener to Mr. Brodrick. Parliamentary Papers South Africa. 1901 (Cd. 528), p. 2.

“ PRETORIA,
8th July, 1901.

As in all guerilla warfare . . . great patience is required to see the inevitable end.”¹

“ 8th August, 1901.

The month of July has been marked by a wide development of our system of blockhouse defence. . . . These blockhouse lines give promise of being of much future assistance to us. Not only do they protect our communications and render intercommunication difficult between the different portions of the Boer forces, but they serve as barriers against which our mobile columns are able to drive bands of the enemy and force them to surrender.”²

“ 8th December, 1901.

Rinderpest is still raging, but the process of inoculation and the care taken of uninfected animals have combined to prevent the movements of our troops from being seriously interfered with by the difficulty of meeting transport

¹ Parliamentary Papers, South Africa. Dispatches. 1901 (Cd. 695), p. 17.

² Ibid., 1902 (Cd. 820), p. 3.

requirements. This successful coping with the disease has surprised the old inhabitants of the country, to whom rinderpest and wet weather have usually meant the cessation of all operations dependent on ox transport." ¹

1902, *Jan.* 30. First Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance signed.

"8th *February*, 1902.

Our blockhouse system continues slowly but surely to spread over the country, enclosing areas, which are gradually cleared by the mobile columns, and are then occupied by a network of constabulary posts." ²

"10th *April*, 1902.

It was decided at the meeting of the Boer representatives to-day to send me a letter requesting permission to lay certain proposals before me and to ask me to name place and date. I should like instructions on this, and propose their coming here [Pretoria]." ³

¹ Parliamentary Papers, South Africa. Dispatches. 1902 (Cd. 824), p. 11.

² Ibid. (Cd. 965), p. 3.

³ To Secretary of State for War. Ibid. (Cd. 1096), p. 1.

"31st May, 1902.

Negotiations with Boer delegates. The document containing terms of surrender was signed here this evening at 10.30 p.m. by all Boer representatives, as well as by Lord Milner and myself." ¹

June 17.

"I desire to place on record my high appreciation of the unflagging energy and unflinching tact with which you have facilitated the work of my Commissioners. . . . I feel confident that a new era of complete reconciliation between all races has now dawned in South Africa." ²

June 18. Kitchener speaks at Johannesburg.

"What I would like you to consider now is what you have learnt in war. Some of you have learnt to ride, to shoot. All of you have learnt discipline, and how combined

¹ To Secretary of State for War. Parliamentary Papers, South Africa. 1902 (Cd. 1096), p. 11.

² Kitchener to Generals Botha, Delarey, and De Wet. Ibid. Dispatches. 1902 (Cd. 988), p. 3.

movements and action helped to overcome the difficulties of this campaign. You have learnt to be staunch and steadfast in the hour of danger, to attack with vigour, and hold what you have gained. You have all felt the exhilarating effects of success, and though you may have to toil as before in this city or country, you can never be quite the same men again. You have tasted the salt of life, and its savour will never leave you. You can never forget the sweet, pure, healthy life on the veld—the morning ride, gallop, scrap, and capture. Many of you will long remember those night marches, which Wools Sampson made so notably successful. You can never forget those true friends and comrades by whose side you have stood in a hundred fights. Even hardships you so cheerfully endured will in remembrance be only pleasures. My advice to you, gentlemen, is not to try to forget it all. Keep up the glorious organizations of those distinguished regiments to which you belonged. Treat those youths that come after you with what you have learned. Keep your horses and your rifles ready, and your bodies physically fit, so that you may

be prepared at any time to take your due part in that great Empire which unites us. . . .

And, gentlemen, what have we learnt about our enemies? We were told that the Boers would all run away. Well, they ran away very often, but they always came back again. We were told they would never hold together in any cohesive formation, and I fully believe that there is no one more self-confident of his own individual opinion than the Boers. And yet what have we seen? That they have subordinated themselves to their leaders and have worked with discipline through a long and protracted war. We have seen them courageous in attack and retreat. They have always shown such marked ability as to be a lesson to us all. There is another characteristic they have displayed which, if we are true descendants of our forefathers, we ought to be most capable of fully appreciating. I refer to that wonderful tenacity of purpose, that 'don't-know-when-you-are-beaten' quality which they have so prominently displayed in this war. There may be individuals amongst them whose characteristics and methods we do not like and do not approve of, but judged

as a whole I maintain that they are a virile race and an asset of considerable importance to the British Empire, for whose honour and glory I hope before long they may be fighting side by side with us.”¹

June 23. Speaks at Cape Town.

“ I have to express great pleasure at receiving the greetings of my countrymen from the land of my birth, the country where I was brought up. I am sure you will all rejoice with me at the noble manner in which the Irish regiments have maintained the honour and glory of the Old Country, and how they have proved once more that Irishmen all over the world are loyal to the core to their King and Country. . . . Now that peace has come

¹ *Cape Times*, June 20, 1902. The sentiments of Kitchener towards the Boers may be contrasted with some of those in the “German War Book,” first issued in 1902, a translation of which, by Professor J. H. Morgan M.A., was published in 1915. “A war conducted with energy,” wrote the authors, who were members of the German General Staff, “. . . will and must . . . seek to destroy the total intellectual and material resources of the enemy state” (p. 52).

earnestly urge on you all to put aside all racial feeling, all 'Leagues' and 'Bonds,' and, in a spirit of complete harmony and reconciliation, to strive zealously for the welfare of your common country. In the new Colonies this is being done. Boer and Briton alike have had the horrors of war brought home to them. They have had a good fight and have shaken hands over it, and now they are working as one man to set right the damage caused by the struggle." ¹

Leaves South Africa and dates his concluding dispatch on the War.

1. "In the many difficult situations in which I have had to co-operate with Lord Milner, it has been the greatest relief to me to feel that I could always rely upon his unfailing sympathy and ungrudging assistance."

2. Sir John French's "willingness to accept responsibility, and his bold and sanguine disposition have relieved me from many anxieties and, after I had appointed him to

¹ *Cape Times*, June 24, 1902.

conduct the operations in Cape Colony, enabled me to devote myself, more completely than would otherwise have been possible, to the conduct of operations in the territories of the late Republics."

3. "Lieutenant-Colonel D. Haig . . . is, in my opinion, one of the most thoughtful and best educated of our cavalry officers in his own rank. He has also shown considerable skill in handling men in the field."¹

July 6. Off Las Palmas.

July 12. Lands at Southampton and, the same day, is welcomed by the people of London and received by King Edward VII

"We can rejoice at the grandiose reception which London has given to the former French trooper."²

Aug. 23. Speech at Stockton-on-Tees.

¹ Parliamentary Papers, South Africa. Dispatches 1902 (Cd. 988), pp. 3, 5, 6.

² *Le Journal* (French newspaper), quoted by *The Times* July 14, 1902.

“ I would take this opportunity of reminding you that a great number of the very best of those men who were with me in South Africa have now returned, or are returning, to their homes in this country. These men have a certain amount of money which will enable them to have a holiday with their people. But after that they will want employment ; and I maintain that, having merited the approbation of their countrymen by their services in South Africa, it is not too much to ask that some direct step should be taken in great industrial centres like this, and amongst large employers of labour, to find them good, permanent, wage-earning positions. I hope now that Lord Londonderry has been entrusted with the Education Department that he will find it possible to add to the curriculum of instruction in public schools some elementary military training for all our boys.” ¹

About this date he replies to questions put to him by the President of Committee appointed to consider conditions under which Canteens and Regimental Institutes are conducted.

¹ *The Times*, August 25, 1902.

“I do not consider it advisable that soldiers on the active list should be used as canteen stewards, barmen, etc. . . . I think all canteens and institutes should be run on co-operative lines. The wet canteen should be dealt with separately, and, though enabling men to obtain refreshment, it should not be made into an attractive lounge. It should, in my opinion, be run more on the lines of a railway refreshment-room, where tea, coffee, and sandwiches can also be obtained. The profits on the wet canteen should be higher than those on dry goods, except in the case of the one pint of beer [to be consumed with meals], which, when served at the club, might be issued at the most moderate profits.”¹

Sept. 6. Address to Yeomanry at Welshpool.

“You Yeomanry have had some experience of what it means to be more or less untrained in war, and how greatly a man, whatever his spirit and pluck may be, is handicapped by want of training in a fight. You, therefore will realize with me how essential it is that

¹ Parliamentary Papers. 1903 (Cd. 1494), p. 255.

the young men of the country should join the military forces and become trained by those who have reaped experience during this war, so that they may in their turn be ready, if the necessity should arise, to take their place as trained men in the ranks. You must not forget that we shall not always have, nor do we wish to have, a war that lasts long enough to train our men during the campaign. It is, therefore, I think, of vital importance that every one, whether in this country or in that Greater Britain beyond the seas, should realize that it is the bounden duty and high privilege of every British able-bodied man to defend and maintain that great Empire, the citizenship of which we have inherited and the honour and glory of which the men of the Empire are determined shall, as far as lies in their power, be handed on untarnished to those that follow us." ¹

Oct. 2.

"Regarding the War Office, Mr. Haldane said he despaired of it until they let loose in it somebody like Lord Kitchener." ²

¹ *The Times*, September 8, 1902.

² Report of Mr. Haldane's speech at Dunbar on October 2, 1902. *Daily Chronicle*, October 3, 1902.

Oct. 14. Kitchener gives evidence before the Royal Commission on the war in South Africa.

Importance of Health.

“A strong constitution and good health are of the greatest importance, and weakly officers who cannot stand real hard work should be carefully eliminated from the field army. . . .”

Hunting and Polo.

“I am of opinion that field exercises should be kept up. Hunting and polo are the best and quickest means of exercising and developing the qualities and muscles required in the field, and there is no reason why such field exercises should unduly interfere with an officer's serious and proper study of his profession.”

Captains and Subalterns.

“Captains and subalterns should be *real* commanders, and battalion and brigade commanders should confine themselves to supervision. . . .”

Officers to take Responsibility.

“Officers should be trained to take responsibility. They should be induced to exercise their brains and to strike out ideas for themselves, even at the risk of making mistakes, rather than to stagnate, or to follow the dull routine which at present affects the officers in our service and moulds them into machines of very limited capacity. . . .”

Entrenchments.

“I am of opinion that all infantry and artillery should carry with them sufficient tools to enable them to construct hasty entrenchments, for as the accuracy of weapons improves, so in equal degree will the value of such entrenchments increase.”

Peace Manœuvres.

“I consider that the training of officers to fit them for war can best be provided by manœuvres, which should be made to follow as closely as possible every characteristic detail of war up to the actual contact between the combatants. . . .”

Transport Department.

“In urging the formation of a separate transport department, I would point out that there is no more important work in any branch of the Army, and none in which thorough and careful training is more necessary, more especially at a time like the present when mechanical transport will probably be an important adjunct to the military transport service. . . .”

Manufactures and Resources of Foreign Countries.

“There is a great deal to be done in the way of collecting useful information during peace time as to the manufacturing capabilities and resources of different countries. I think this point should be more carefully watched in the future.”¹

¹ “Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission on the War in South Africa,” vol. i. pp. 7-13.

CHAPTER VI

Commander-in-Chief of Indian Army—Inspects North-West Frontier—Soldiers not to quarrel with natives—On the Sikhs—Reduces amount of “sentry-go”—Memorandum upon the Organization and Training of the Army in India—Redistribution of Indian Army—Visit to Burmah—Minute on the Dual Control of the Indian Army—Views as to the education of Mohammedans—Regulations for examination in the Japanese language—Memorandum on Musketry Training; importance of Maxims—Resignation of Lord Curzon.

1902, *Oct.* 17. Kitchener leaves Dover for Paris.

Oct. 22. At Rome.

Oct. 27. At Alexandria and Cairo.

Nov. 1. Visits Assuan Reservoir Works.

Nov. 4. At Khartoum.

Nov. 8. Opens the Gordon College.

Nov. 17. At Cairo.

Nov. 28. Lands at Bombay and assumes command of the Indian Army.¹

Dec. 2. At Delhi.

Dec. 12. Leaves Delhi for Simla.

Dec. 23. At Grand Review of troops at Delhi.

1903, *Jan.* 1. At Delhi Durbar.

Jan. 3. Attends Mohammedan Educational Conference.

“As in the past, so in the future, I shall take the greatest interest in advancing education among Mohammedans and do what I can to assist in any well-considered measure for that object.”²

Jan. 16. At Dera Ismail Khan.

Inspects Tank, Wana, and Bannu section of the North-West Frontier.

Jan. 24. At Calcutta.

¹ According to persons who had accompanied him on his voyage to India, he had spent four hours a day learning Hindustani (*Pioneer Mail*, December 5, 1902).

² *Ibid.*, January 9, 1903.

Feb. 28. Leaves Calcutta for Peshawar, the Khyber Pass, Malakand, and Chakdarra.

March 10. At Calcutta.

March 26 (*circa*). Leaves Calcutta for Quetta, reaching Quetta on the 28th.

Visits New Chaman and Zhob Valley.

“COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF’S CAMP, INDIA,
HINDUBAGH, *April* 13th, 1903.

I would urge that officers can, if properly selected, be trained to deal efficiently with financial questions of considerable importance, and that it would be greatly to the advantage of the State if officers were made to realize more fully than they do now the grave importance of all Army expenditure. . . . The simplification of the present system of accounting in the Army is a matter of great importance if officers are to effectively deal with this subject.”¹

“Lord Kitchener’s first tour in India is not being conducted on the familiar lines. . . .

¹ “Minutes of Evidence, Royal Commission on the War in South Africa,” vol. i. p. 511.

Apparently no one positively knows at any given time where and when His Excellency will make his next halt.”¹

May 1. Visit of King Edward VII to Paris, an important step towards an *entente cordiale* between France and Great Britain.

May 6. Kitchener at Thal.

May 7. At Kohat.

“Lord Kitchener, after a prolonged tour along the whole length of the frontier, during which he penetrated, with a small Militia escort only, into tracts hitherto almost entirely closed to our officers, is convinced that the policy of peaceful penetration is working admirably.”²

May 9. At Simla.

May 23. Present at Volunteer Sports Simla.

“In congratulating the prize-winners on their successes, Lord Kitchener told them

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, April 24, 1903.

² Government of India, Foreign Department, to Secretary of State for India, August 18, 1904. Parliamentary Papers, East India (North-West Frontier). 1908 (Cd. 4201) p. 3.

—in tones that, without vocal strain, carried everywhere—that the prizes, from the moment that Lady Curzon touched and presented them, ceased to be mere prizes and became souvenirs of Her Excellency, be jealously preserved as such. He also happily expressed the thanks of all present to Lady Curzon for her kindness in riding down to Annandale to attend the Volunteer Sports, for the interest shown by her in the Volunteer Movement, and for the gracious manner in which she had distributed the prizes. Turning then to the Volunteers, Lord Kitchener added with quiet emphasis: ‘On some future occasion I hope to meet the Simla Volunteers *on parade*.’ Not another word! Three cheers for Lady Curzon burst forth spontaneously to break the tension.”¹

June 26 (circa).

“The Commander-in-Chief greatly regrets to inform the Army that there has been quite recently a considerable number of cases in which British soldiers have assaulted natives, sometimes with fatal results. His Excellency cannot too strongly impress upon the Army in India the gravity of such offences, showing as they do want of dis-

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, June 5, 1903.

cipline and self-control, as well as want of proper supervision. Officers, non-commissioned officers, and men must realize that any such occurrence is a slur on the unit to which they belong, and the Commander-in-Chief is resolved to do everything in his power to prevent soldiers disgracing themselves in this way." ¹

July 2. With the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, and others Kitchener signs a letter from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India enclosing copy of instructions given to Major Younghusband, who had been selected to negotiate with the Chinese and Thibetan Governments.²

July 6. Younghusband's escort crosses the Thibetan frontier; it is joined by Young-husband (July 18).

July 16. Kitchener speaks at the United Service Institution, Simla.

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, June 26, 1903.

² Parliamentary Papers, East India (Thibet). 1904 (Cd. 1920), p. 194.

“Such men [the Sikhs]—simple in their religion, free in not observing caste prejudices, manly in their warlike creed and in being true sons of the soil, not always quick of understanding, but brave, strong, and true—are of priceless value to the Empire, and long may the Sikhs follow the injunction to fight for him ‘whose salt thou hast eaten.’ . . . I should like to add a word about the Sikh rulers, and to recall to you the splendid loyalty of those Sikh chiefs who in the dark hours of the Mutiny of 1857 spontaneously threw in their lot with us. The enormous moral effect of their prompt declarations in favour of British rule cannot be over-estimated, whilst the material assistance afforded by those chiefs greatly aided us in the capture of Delhi and the re-establishment of peace in Oudh.”¹

Aug.–Oct. Kitchener inspecting Chitral and passes leading to the Pamir region.

Oct. 19. Arrives at Abbotabad,

“having covered some 1,450 miles by road riding and walking in such places as Upper

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, July 24, 1903.

Hunza, where ponies could not go . . . he has visited the more important passes and strategical positions in the Gilgit and Chitra Agencies." ¹

Oct. 21. At Simla.

Nov. 15. Riding back from Wildflower Hall (his country house in the environs of Simla), breaks his leg in two places.²

Nov. 28.

"My leg is doing well, and I trust may no longer delay my pleasure of seeing the Bombay troops."³

Dec. 22. At Calcutta.

1904, *Feb. 6.* In England Army Council created and post of Commander-in-Chief abolished; later in year the Committee of Imperial Defence is reorganized.

Feb. 8. War breaks out between Russia and Japan.

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, October 23, 1903.

² *Ibid.*, December 4, 1903.

³ Telegram to Sir Archibald Hunter.

Feb. 15. Kitchener leaves Calcutta for Secunderabad, Poona, and Lucknow.

Feb. 26. Visits Allahabad and inspects the Grass Farm there; returns to Calcutta.

March.

“His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief desires that you will impress upon all General Officers commanding Districts the great importance of reducing guard duties by every means in their power, with a view to more efficient training for war. . . . The first business of a soldier is war, and . . . the more his time and strength are taken up with sentry-go the less will be his ultimate value as a fighting man.”¹

March 22. Addresses the Calcutta Volunteers.

“A great city like Calcutta ought to turn out more Volunteers than are now on your rolls. I hold that in India every Englishman by birth or descent owes it as a duty to his country to become an efficient Volunteer, and

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, March 4, 1904.

I cannot, therefore, help on this occasion expressing my disappointment at finding this duty disregarded. My remarks apply not only to Calcutta, for in all India I notice with deep regret that not half of those who ought to be Volunteers are sufficiently patriotic to belong to the Volunteer organizations.”¹

April 1. At Madras.

April 5. Inspects cordite factory at Wellington.²

Visits Mysore.

April 8. Anglo-French Agreement, disposing of outstanding diplomatic difficulties, signed.

April 10. Kitchener at Bangalore.

April 11. Memorandum upon “The Or-

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, March 25, 1904.

² A rifle factory at Ishapore and a field-gun factory at Cossipore had been created. These and the factories at Jubbulpore and Wellington were to render India independent of external supplies of guns, rifles, and cordite.

ganization and Training of the Army in India.”¹

THE BRITISH ARMY BEING SMALL MUST BE
HIGHLY TRAINED.

“Our army is admittedly a small one for the purposes for which it is maintained. There is, consequently, all the more need for a higher standard of excellence with us than obtains elsewhere. It must be the constant endeavour of every one in the army in India to so train themselves and those under them in time of peace that, when the strain of war comes, all ranks may know what to do and how to do it.”

TEACHINGS OF BRITISH MILITARY HISTORY.

“Our military history supplies instances of how, in the past, we have courted failure and even invited defeat by an overweening confidence in the capabilities of our troops. We have thus lost sight of the necessity for taking

¹ This Memorandum was ordered by the House of Commons on June 8, 1904, to be printed. The price of a copy is 2d. The extracts have been reproduced by the printer from the printed text; the headings to them are ours.

every precaution against possible failure by careful previous study of the military problems which confront us, and by the proper training of our troops for war. In South Africa there were several instances of how such complacent beliefs and the consequent neglect of ordinary precautions led commanders to disaster. Against such erroneous ideas we should all most carefully guard ourselves, arising, as they do, from a false estimate of our preparedness for war, or from the feeling that, if we are not really a perfectly trained army, we are at least good enough to cope with any enemy we are likely to encounter. There are many cases to show that from such soothing beliefs there may be a rude awakening."

"THE DAY OF BATTLE" TEST.

"In the day of battle a commander may find that his troops are not so well trained as he had fondly imagined, that his staff itself leave something to be desired, that the whole military machine, in fact, is inefficient and is not working smoothly. But it is too late then to

remedy such shortcomings. It is during peace that we must prepare for war by making every component part of the machine, however apparently small and insignificant, thoroughly sound and serviceable."

STAFF, IMPORTANCE OF.

"The task which falls to the lot of a General Officer, whether in peace or war, is one which he cannot perform adequately without assistance, and for this assistance he is dependent on his staff. Nothing is more essential for complete preparation in peace and for successful operation in war than that an army should have a thoroughly trained and highly educated general staff. If such a staff is provided, and Generals know how to use their staffs, and how to employ and practise them in peace time so as to prepare them for all the changing phases and emergencies of war, we shall have gone a long way towards attaining true efficiency. But this has never yet been fully realized in India, where no special staff training has up to the present been provided, and where, in fact, no facilities whatever exist for any higher

military education than that necessary for promotion to the rank of major."

TRAINING OF THE STAFF IN INDIA.

"In almost all military countries where war problems have been deeply studied, and where national military requirements have been fully appreciated and worked out, the supreme importance of a logical and efficient organization of the staff has been recognized, and its functions have thus naturally fallen into two great divisions :—

- I. The Art of War.
 - II. Routine business in peace and war.
-

In order to cope with the requirements of the first division of staff duties, and to provide for their proper performance in districts, a further allotment into subdivisions of—

- (1) Training and preparation for war, and
- (2) Maintenance and movement,

is necessary. The staff officer in charge of each of these subdivisions will be directly responsible for all the duties it involves ; he

will work out all details, and formulate and execute all schemes of his subdivision, under the orders of his General, but he will in no way be relieved from the necessity of possessing an intimate knowledge of all that is dealt with in the other subdivision. The two branches of this great division must, in fact, work with that combination of purpose and perfect smoothness of execution which is possessed by the twin screws of a ship ; though the channels in which they work are divided by the keel-line between them, they will be always in reality working in perfect harmony and on parallel lines under the direction of the General—as their engine—to drive the vessel of the army towards perfect efficiency.

I would further emphasize the absolute necessity for the officers employed in *both* divisions of the staff being at all times and in all their work completely in touch with the feelings and circumstances of the personnel of the army, for it has always been a danger in the past, and one which we must carefully guard against in the future, that officers em-

ployed on the staff should drift out of touch with the troops for whose benefit and improvement their labours are incurred.

The distribution of work in two or three sections, as the case may be, is shown in the tabular statement which is annexed.¹ For the present, at least, the allotment of individual officers to particular sections will rest with General Officers Commanding, who will study the intellects and capacities of the staff officers placed at their disposal, and will allot to each that subsection of duties which he seems best fitted to perform efficiently. All staff officers should, however, possess a sufficient general knowledge of the duties of all subdivisions to enable them at any time temporarily to take charge of any subsection.

I wish carefully to impress on all Generals and staff officers the fact that in thus providing for an increase in the number of the

¹ For tabular statement see Memorandum.

latter, it is far from my intention to diminish the work at present done by any individual officer, but, on the contrary, to allow work which is now neglected or left wholly undone to be adequately performed in the future. Thus all staff officers will have more work to do than they have at present, though in many cases it will be work of a different kind. Those who are placed in charge of the Art of War subdivisions must be continually engaged under the orders of their Generals, in superintending and assisting in the war training of officers and men. They must absorb much of what has hitherto been treated as purely technical work, such, for instance, as musketry, signalling, field engineering, the defence of positions, employment of artillery, and the like. In fact, they will have to superintend and instruct in all branches of military training equally with drill, marching, discipline, and the care and comfort of the troops.

Staff duties are now divided into two branches known as A and B respectively. Each of these branches deals with a number

of weighty subjects, but the more important work of each is hindered and retarded by the requirements of routine. It is undoubtedly necessary that this routine work should be adequately performed in order to ensure the comfort and well-being of the troops, but unfortunately it has in times of peace frequently assumed a wholly fictitious importance, with the result that the more essential matter of the training and preparation of the troops for war has been largely lost sight of, and staff officers have as a rule been content to devote themselves to duties of a merely clerical character.

I am in hopes that sanction may shortly be given for the establishment of a Staff College for India. In order to ensure the selection of none but the best and most promising young officers, only those who are nominated as specially suitable by General Officers Commanding districts will be allowed to compete. Generals will be held to be strictly responsible for the manner in which they perform this important duty, and must therefore take

the greatest pains to make themselves personally acquainted with the mental, moral, and social qualifications of all those serving under their command. Should the College be established, officers thus nominated will be subjected to a qualifying examination, both written and practical, the results of which will be forwarded to Army Headquarters. The Commander-in-Chief will then select those of them who shall be permitted to appear at the competitive examination by which admission to the College will be decided."

STAFF OFFICERS MUST NOT BE MERE
SPECIALISTS.

"The practice of treating certain parts of our profession as technical subjects to be left almost entirely in the hands of the specialist is one to be strongly deprecated. Staff officers must keep themselves abreast of the times in all military subjects, and be prepared whenever called upon to undertake any duty which may be allotted to a staff officer, whether in peace or war."

EDUCATION *v.* CRAMMING.

“ The system at present in force in India, whereby officers are sent to garrison classes to prepare for their promotion examinations, is particularly faulty. Knowledge thus crammed up in the course of a few weeks, only to be forgotten as soon as the examination is passed, is in no sense education. In future the military education of officers must be imparted within their regiments ; it must commence from the day they join and continue until they leave the service. ”

TRAINING FOR MODERN WARFARE : OFFICERS
MUST BE TEACHERS.

“ We must follow a system of training for war suited to the vastly changed conditions of the present day, and steadfastly eliminate all obsolete traditions. In all ranks, from the private soldier to the General Officer, each step up the ladder requires a corresponding increase in knowledge, in self-reliance, in the power of initiative, in the habit of readily accepting responsibility, and

in the faculty of command, qualities which can be attained only by unremitting study combined with constant practice.

It is recognized that it is the duty of a commanding officer to educate and train his men in all branches of soldiering, but hitherto it has not been so generally understood that this holds equally true as regards the education and training of the officers serving under him. The plea that teaching is a difficult art which it is given to few to acquire is one which cannot be accepted. The whole secret of preparing for war is a matter of training and instruction, and commanding or other officers who profess or show their incapacity as instructors, and their inability to train and educate those under them for all the situations of modern war, must be deemed unfit for the positions they hold."

GENERALS IN COMMAND: THEIR DUTIES.

"But, great as is the responsibility of commanding officers for the education and training for war of those under their command, that of the General Officer Commanding is still

greater. Many Generals appear to imagine that they have fulfilled all their duty when they have reported badly on a unit, and have officially recorded a long list of its shortcomings. This is a view from which I most emphatically dissent. A General must indeed, be able to detect and point out faults but such criticism is useless unless he himself is able and ready to apply the remedy that is needed. Troops must be accustomed to regard their Generals not as necessarily hostile critics always on the look-out for something to find fault with, but as their trusted leaders in war, their instructors in peace, and at all times their ready helpers, able and willing to promote their welfare, and to spare no effort to increase their preparedness for the stress of active service.

General Officers cannot attain this position with reference to their troops by virtue merely of their rank. Before they can expect troops to regard them in this light they must first make themselves thoroughly fit for the positions they occupy. To be regarded as

leaders they must be competent to lead ; to be accepted as instructors their professional knowledge must be undoubted, and this entails on them the obligation of unceasing study and of constant practical application. In this way alone can they properly prepare their troops for war, and at the same time so train themselves as to be able adequately to discharge the great responsibilities which will devolve on them when called upon to command in the field."

INDIVIDUAL INTELLIGENCE AND INITIATIVE TO
BE CULTIVATED IN OFFICERS.

"It is impossible to lay too much stress upon the necessity for developing individual intelligence and initiative to the fullest extent—subject, of course, to the requirements of discipline. Without discipline all other training is useless ; but in some cases there is a tendency to sacrifice that intelligent individuality, which is so needful in modern war, by carrying to excess the discipline of the parade ground. What is required is to aim at a happy medium which will combine

these two important adjuncts of all training—discipline and individual action; for that army will gain a decisive superiority which has best understood how to train each individual man to use his weapon, while at the same time he learns to follow the signs, obey the orders, and emulate the example of his leaders.

In carrying out practical training in the field the great object must be to render officers and non-commissioned officers capable, from the very first, of exercising independent command. We must commence from the bottom—from the smallest stones in the foundation of the building. Even the youngest subaltern, when he has completed his recruit's drill, must be given constant opportunities for taking his small command away from the parade ground and exercising it to the best of his ability. Mistakes will, of course, be made; but neither the young officer nor the rising non-commissioned officer should be discouraged by constant and sometimes harassing correction. They should be allowed

to carry out their plans, each in his own way, to their legitimate conclusions, so that they can see their mistakes for themselves; and then, if necessary, the superintending officer can with greater advantage point out any errors which have been made, explain their causes, and show how they may be avoided in future. Such a method of instruction, while impressing its lessons more vividly on the young officer and those round him, is the best insurance against their making similar mistakes in war. On the other hand, if a young officer or non-commissioned officer is sharply corrected as soon as he begins to make a mistake, he not only loses the benefit—so invaluable to himself and others—of seeing his errors and how they arose, but that independence of thought and action which it is our aim and object to foster and develop receives a check from which it is slow to recover.

The exercise of independent command having thus been inculcated in the juniors, the system must be carried up through all

ranks and be continually developed at each stage of the training. Moreover, the training should not be limited to an officer's own arm of the service ; for by so restricting it, an incorrect idea of war would be given at the outset which it would be difficult—or perhaps impossible—to eradicate later on. From the first no opportunity should be lost of working the three arms together, and commanding officers should always be ready, by mutual agreement, to place portions of their units at each other's disposal."

CAVALRY—ITS CHANGED POSITION AND DUTIES

"In the cavalry, the substitution of an accurate long range rifle for the carbine marks a very distinct change in the employment and training of this arm. The cavalry soldier must have it impressed on him that whereas the carbine has hitherto been merely an adjunct to the lance or sword, the old order has now changed and the lance or sword has become an auxiliary to the rifle.

In laying down this principle I do not wish to be misunderstood, and far be it from me to

advocate a system of training which would in any way entail a loss of that dash which has very rightly done so much to make our cavalry famous throughout the world. Opportunities will still occur on the modern battlefield when a well-delivered charge may turn the fortunes of the day ; and for such our cavalry must be trained and prepared. But these occasions will be few and far between, while, on the other hand, the cavalry leader of the future may continually be able to render valuable assistance to his General by the judicious disposition and bold use of his mobile mounted force. The new weapon has given him a power he has not hitherto possessed, the full development and exercise of which in war demands a special and careful training in time of peace. To this end cavalry soldiers must be trained to work in rank entire ; to mount and dismount with the greatest rapidity and with the least confusion ; to provide for the safety of their horses while bringing the greatest possible number of rifles into the firing line ; and to become proficient in dismounted field duties.

Cavalry must still as ever be 'the eyes and ears of the army.' Efficient scouting and reconnaissance are of supreme importance to the General in the field, whose success or failure often depends on the receipt of early and accurate information. For this he looks to his cavalry who, if they are not most carefully trained in peace, will certainly fail in war. These duties perhaps more than any others, call for the exercise of individual intelligence and resource—qualities which can only be developed by constant training and practice.

Closely associated with them, and almost of equal importance, are the duties of dispatch riding and delivery of messages in the field. But, so far as I have had an opportunity for observing, I think that there is much room for improvement in this respect both in British regiments and in regiments of the Indian Army, and that the great importance of these duties and the large amount of attention they require in peace training has not been fully realized. Every opportunity should be taken of practising officers in sending in reports from

patrols, in order that they may learn to rightly appreciate various military situations and to report clearly and correctly what they have observed.

It seems almost superfluous for me to lay stress on the great necessity for securing proficiency in horsemanship and horsemastership. Without his horse the cavalryman ceases to be a cavalryman, and unless his horse is in a fit condition, his value for mounted duties almost disappears. Moreover, if officers and men do not thoroughly understand how to look after their horses, there will be unnecessarily heavy wastage in the field which it may be difficult to supply ; and I hope that every attention will be devoted to these most important details."

INFANTRY.

"With infantry, the increased power of modern weapons necessitates much wider extensions in preliminary formations and in holding attacks than were previously realized or practised ; and it is certain that even greater

extensions than have hitherto been adopted will result in a fuller development both of rifle power and of the individual intelligence of the infantry soldier. But we must not be led away by recent experience and carry these extensions to excess where decisive attacks are concerned, thereby losing cohesion and allowing control to pass out of the hands of subordinate commanders.

Wide formations render it more necessary than ever to devote very careful attention to fire discipline—not only in the restricted sense of control of fire but in that wider sense which includes the training of the individual to open fire on his own initiative and without orders when those fleeting but all important opportunities occur which happen so frequently in war—and to constant practice in those formations which are found to admit of the fullest development of rifle-fire. The infantry soldier should be a good shot. He should be encouraged to take an interest in his rifle, and by constant practice he should be led to fully appreciate its value and use. If this feeling

can be induced in combination with musketry training, a great step in advance will be made.

The power of marching long distances without undue strain and exhaustion is as important as proficiency in shooting. It requires constant practice; and just as the cavalry soldier must be taught to appreciate the real value of his horse, so the infantry soldier should be taught to keep himself in a sound condition of physical training, with his feet and body at all time ready to respond to the heavy calls that are made on them in war."

ARTILLERY.

"In the artillery, owing to the division of the battery into sections and subsections, the initial training is such as to encourage the exercise of independent command. The same system should be further developed so that battery commanders may be able to fight their batteries as separate units with the greatest effect. The intelligent concealment of guns in action not only minimizes losses, but invariably adds

to the effectiveness of their fire. This may however, often entail such wide dispersion that it will be difficult for one commander to control more than a single battery; batteries should, therefore, be constantly exercised in taking up fighting positions independently.

The necessity for concealment accentuates the objection to galloping into action, and the increased dispersion of guns requires the greatest intelligence and foresight on the part of every gun leader. The battery commander should always be so far in advance of his battery (or in rear in case of retreat) as to enable him to gain the earliest knowledge of the development of a battle, and to examine the ground over which he will have to work his battery in action. By this means he will be able to use his battery to the best advantage and will, at the same time, avoid hurrying his guns into action with insufficient time or room to enable them to make the best use of ground and cover.

The wide dispersion of guns which will

frequently be necessary makes it important that more attention should be paid to signalling in the Artillery, both for the purposes of command and control, and also to convey information, e.g. regarding ranges or movements of the enemy which may be observed from one position and not from another."

DISCIPLINE AN ESSENTIAL ; ARMY *v.* ARMED
MOB.

"Last, but not least, comes the preservation and maintenance of discipline, which distinguishes an army from an armed mob, and without which all other training is of small value. The true combination of discipline with a proper exercise of individual intelligence and initiative cannot fail to give the army in which these qualities have been inculcated a decided superiority over one in which they have been neglected."

April 14. At Poona.

April 20. Arrives at Simla after halt in the Gwalior State for tiger shooting.

July 22 (circa).

“I fully appreciate the good work that is done in Soldiers’ Institutes in this country especially so when the provision of outdoor recreation for the men is one of the principal aims of the institute ” (To Canon Brittain).¹

Aug. 4. Younghusband and his escort reach Lhasa.

Aug. 19. Kitchener leaves Snowdon, his town residence at Simla, for Wildflower Hall

Aug. 23–Sept. 3. Battle of Liaoyang ; Russians under Kuropatkin defeated by Japanese under Oyama.

Sept. 8. Returns to Simla.
Goes for shoot in the Keonthal State.

Oct. 3. Back at Simla.

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, July 22, 1904. Among Lord Kitchener’s reforms in India was a remodelling of the canteen system. The canteens were turned into British Arm Clubs.

Oct 28.

ORDER ON REDISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN ARMY.

“The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to announce that the following recommendations made by His Excellency with regard to the higher organization of the Army in India have been approved by the Secretary of State and sanctioned by the Government of India. The principle underlying these new arrangements is that the army in peace should be organized and trained in units of command similar to those in which it will take the field. Under the new organization India (exclusive of Burmah) will be divided into three Commands, each Command will comprise three Divisions, and each Division will consist of one Cavalry and three Infantry Brigades, with divisional troops composed of Cavalry, Artillery, Sappers, Pioneers, etc., together with such additional troops as may be required for the maintenance of internal order in the divisional area when the Division itself is withdrawn for war. . . . The present Madras Command, together with the Staff attached to it, will cease to exist, with the exception

of certain appointments shown in Appendix B which will be temporarily transferred to the Secunderabad Division. . . . The Secunderabad Division will, for the present, remain independent of any Command, and will be on precisely the same footing as Burmah with regard to the powers of the General Officer Commanding. He will correspond direct with Army Headquarters. . . . The powers of Lieutenant-Generals of Commands will remain as at present. His Excellency desires that all these officers will take the fullest advantage of the powers granted them, and wishes to impress on them that an officer who habitually refers questions for orders shows himself incapable of assuming responsibility, and therefore wanting in one of the most essential qualifications for higher command. The proposed devolution of authority to General Officers Commanding Divisions is intended to relieve Lieutenant-Generals of Commands from much of the less important business with which they now deal, and thus to leave them at leisure to devote far more of their time and personal attention than is now possible to superintending the training for War of

their Divisions. It must be fully realized that the keynote of this change in organization is to secure complete and thorough training for war in recognized war formations, so as to enable the Army to take the field in the highest state of efficiency, and with the smallest possible dislocation of the peace organization. It is, therefore, to improve war training that Officers, Commanding Brigades, Divisions, and Commands, must specially devote their energies if the full benefits of the new organization are to be realized in practice.”¹

Oct. 29. Leaves Simla for Karachi.

“Lord Kitchener made a record journey on the railway from Simla on Saturday [October 29], when his special train covered the distance to Kalka in six hours, including a forty minutes’ halt for lunch at Borogh.”²

Oct. 30. At Karachi.

Nov. 11. At Allahabad and Calcutta.

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, November 4, 1904. Kitchener’s scheme involved the abandonment and the creation of many cantonments.

² *Ibid.*

Nov. 12. Publication of Thibetan Dispatches

“The work which fell to the troops had to be carried out in face of physical difficulties which subjected them to the severest hardships and privations. . . . Not the least gratifying and creditable feature of the undertaking was the excellent discipline and conduct of the troops, as exemplified in their abstention from acts of spoliation, despite the many temptations with which they were confronted throughout the operations.”¹

Nov. 20. At Kohima in the Naga Hills Assam.

Nov. 22. At Manipur.

Dec. 2. At Mandalay, Upper Burmah.

Dec. 10. At Rangoon.

Dec. 15. Arrives at Calcutta.

1905, *Jan.* 1. Port Arthur being surrendered by Russians to the Japanese.

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, November 18, 1904.

Kitchener's Minute on the Dual Control of the Indian Army.¹

CRITICISMS ON THE EXISTING SYSTEM

“I have been called on to record my opinion as to the efficiency of the system under which the Army in India is administered, with special reference to the division of authority between the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Member which is the distinctive feature of the system. If the military problem in India were only to safeguard the country against the States whose frontiers are now conterminous with her own, such as Persia, Afghanistan, China, Thibet, and Siam, I should not have raised this very thorny question about which so much has already been written. Wars against those States could have but one result, although, even to meet such cases, change would be

¹ This important document is published in Parliamentary Papers, East India (Army Administration), 1905 (Cd. 2572). We have extracted some of the more striking passages. They have been reproduced by the printer from the printed text. The headings are ours.

desirable. Greater issues, are, however now at stake.

I feel that it is my imperative duty to state my conviction that the present system is faulty inefficient and incapable of the expansion necessary for a great war in which the armed might of the Empire would be engaged in a life-and-death struggle.

Its leading feature is that, although the Commander-in-Chief has always been a member of the Government of India, a second and independent authority has been introduced in the form of the Military Department, to deal with all military matters. The Government of India have entrusted to this Department the communication of their orders to the Commander-in-Chief and the responsibility for the regulations and orders issued to the army ; and its head has been given a position in Council co-equal with that of the Commander-in-Chief.

Thus, we have a system of dual control in

the army, in which, although the Commander-in-Chief is responsible to Government for the initiation of measures for improvement and reform, all such have to be referred to the Military Department, to be sanctioned or rejected as may seem best to them. It is true that a safety-valve is provided in case Commander-in-Chief and Military Member disagree. The point at issue can then, with the Viceroy's approval, be submitted to Council for decision before orders are promulgated; but this course naturally entails a considerable amount of extra work and expenditure of time, and, whilst always being open to objection, is too cumbrous to be used except in cases of great importance.

One of the chief faults of the Indian system is the enormous delay and endless discussion which it involves. It is impossible to formulate or carry out any consistent military policy. No needed reform can be initiated, no useful measure can be adopted, without being subject to vexatious and, for the most part, unnecessary criticism—not merely as regards the

financial effect of the proposal, but as to its desirability or necessity from the purely military point of view. The fault lies simply in the system, which has created two offices which have been trained to unfortunate jealousy and antagonism and which, therefore, duplicate work, and in the duplication destroy progress and defeat the true ends of military efficiency. The system is one of dual control and divided responsibility. It is a system of "want of trust," such as that which has recently been condemned and abolished in the Army at Home.

In an amalgamated War Department, the best obtainable military opinion would be brought to bear on each proposal; and instead of having constant conflict of opinions, leading to patchwork and disjointed results, there would be a consistent military policy, framed and carried out with a definite end in view.

When one looks back into the past work of the Army administration in India, it is

difficult to trace any definite military policy that has been systematically pursued ; but, on the contrary, it appears to me to be a mass of patchwork, entailing great expenditure, with, certainly, poor results. The only continuity of policy I can see, that has been maintained by the present military system and is inherent in it, is that of making it easy to stand still and extremely difficult to move forward—a condition which cannot be described as satisfactory. When my Re-distribution Scheme was under consideration, I said to the Council : ‘ You have a bad army.’ It was not to the splendid material in officers and men that I alluded, but to the results of a system, which, if left unchanged—whatever our present efforts and expenditure to set matters right may be—will certainly cause another Commander-in-Chief to tell another Council in the future the same story.

Although the Commander-in-Chief is supposed to be the executive head of the Army, the services on which the Army depends for its subsistence, equipment, armament, and

movement are not under his control, but are separately administered by the Military Member of Council. It cannot be maintained for a moment that an army divorced from these services can exist as an effective fighting machine ; and in my opinion this removal from the military head of the army of the responsibility for the supply to the troops of transport, remounts, food, clothing, armaments, ammunition, and other munitions of war constitutes a standing menace to efficiency and a consequent danger to the Army and the country. No commander in the field can be expected to obtain decisive results unless he is perfectly sure that he can rely on these services ; and it is impossible for a commander to administer them with efficiency and economy in war, unless they have been trained and administered under him in peace.

Every scheme and proposal for improvement or reform leads to endless reference and cross references between the two offices and these have to be most carefully attended to ; for, as all proposals emanate from Army

Headquarters, it is of comparatively small importance to any one in the Military Department to press them forward, and if, by chance, some reference is left unanswered, a whole scheme may be hung up indefinitely. Moreover, owing to the separation of the offices, it is impossible for the Commander-in-Chief to know how his schemes are progressing or whether a hitch has occurred, much less its cause, unless he makes special inquiries. Thus the offices become paper-logged with more or less unnecessary verbiage, and I am not surprised that mistakes occasionally do occur ; indeed, I am only astonished that they do not occur more often than is the case.

Again, the Military Department have no direct relations with the Army ; and, being a civil department, are out of touch with the troops. It is true that they keep records and opinions, which they quote from time to time ; but these are generally antiquated, and therefore at variance with the views of Indian Army officers serving with troops or advising the Commander-in-Chief on the Headquarters Staff,

The Military Department do not—and cannot—bring to bear on the questions which come before them that enlightened, up-to-date experience of the practical soldier which is so essentially a qualification for those to whom the all-important duties of preparing our military forces for war are entrusted.

In England, a similar system of dual control existed, and, in spite of frequent indications of defects, the old methods were allowed to remain in force. Small expeditions against savages or semi-civilized States were, from time to time, brought to a successful conclusion; but although, on such occasions, the machinery was sometimes ominously strained the system continued until large forces were set in motion during the South African War when it broke down completely and radical reform was found to be essential.

At the same time my demand for the amount of ammunition which I considered necessary for safety met with so much opposi

tion that I found myself obliged, in order to save further discussion and delay, to consent to the amount being fixed at about three-quarters of what I considered necessary, while placing on record my adherence to my former opinion as to what was the lowest safe minimum, and my intention to press for an increase as soon as the lower amount had been provided. Thus, while the Commander-in-Chief cannot get the ammunition he considers necessary, he is presented instead with a quantity of ordnance stores which he has not asked for."

SOLDIERS NOT NECESSARILY "INCAPABLE OF
RATIONAL AND RESPONSIBLE ACTION."

"Another argument is that if dual control were abolished and the whole of the Army and its services were brought under one military head, we might be exposed to the danger of rash innovations or ill-considered proposals.

It has, however, never been explained why a single official at the head of the Army should be more likely to embark on rash and ill-considered measures than the single

head of any other great department of the State. The argument can only be justified on the assumption that military officers, however carefully selected, are incapable of rational and responsible action.

In earlier times, when there was a less-firmly established system of civil administration, it may have been necessary to have means of restricting the power of the Commander-in-Chief. But the conditions of those times no longer exist. The country is now organized and governed on a well-defined basis; and the Army has its allotted position and duties, as in every other civilized State. The military element in India is no more prominent than other Departments of the Administration. The Home Department, for instance, rules the whole of the police and magistracy of the country, as well as the Local Governments. Its potentialities for good or harm are great; yet it is not considered advisable to have a dual system to diminish the power or control the administration of the Member for Home Affairs, and this system of

‘want of trust’ is only applied to military matters, which are thus treated differently from all other business of the country.”

MISTAKES OF OTHERS NO ARGUMENT AGAINST
CHANGE.

“ If the principle were accepted that, because others—in totally different circumstances—have made mistakes in introducing undesirable changes, we, therefore, should do nothing to improve, then stagnation must supervene. The mistakes of others should be a warning and caution to us not to follow methods which have led them into error, but they should not prevent us from moving at all, or induce us to permit a manifestly unsatisfactory system to continue for a day.”

“ ROTTEN SYSTEMS.”

“ No one dislikes change more than I do; but if necessary, I do not fear it. I would certainly not continue a rotten system because I was afraid to stretch out my hand and take a sound one,”

AN EFFICIENT SYSTEM OF MILITARY
ADMINISTRATION.

“In building up a system of military administration, the most difficult and essential conditions to secure are efficient co-ordination of work between the different sections of the War Department and the closest possible connection between headquarters and the commands and staff of the Army. The system must not only provide for this, but must do so without causing duplication of work unnecessary writing, or undue delay, while at the same time, securing that control and responsibility shall never be separated, but shall always rest in the same hands.”

PEACE ROUTINE OVERSHADOWING PREPARATION
FOR WAR.

“Peace routine has overshadowed preparation for war, and unimportant details, together with the multiplication of criticisms and discussions on side issues, have absorbed the time and energies of the higher officials, whilst real requirements have been neglected. In war the present system must break down; and

unless it is deliberately intended to court disaster, divided counsels, divided authority, and divided responsibility must be abolished.

The fact is our Indian military administration has been framed mainly to meet peace requirements, and the consideration that an army exists for war has been overlooked. Here, as in England, it is owing to the defects in the higher administration of the Army that essentials have been disregarded and military progress and efficiency have not kept pace with the times."

Feb. 24-March 10. Battle of Mukden; Russians again defeated by Japanese.

March 1. Kitchener presents prizes to students of Calcutta Madrasah.

"It is now apparent that the hope I expressed when my appeal for funds in England was so generously responded to—that the Gordon College would eventually become a centre of light and learning for the greater part of Northern Africa—was no

visionary ideal, but is in a fair way towards being realized in the near future. . . . I must occur to some of you, Why do English men and women give generously to establish and maintain such institutions as these? Is it only to teach you boys certain lessons in geography, history, mathematics, and other sciences? Such lessons are doubtless very useful, but they are not, I venture to think the main cause. It is rather to enable the youths of Mohammedan races under our rule to carry out that grand Mohammedan precept, which is also the precept of other religions, that to improve the mind and body is a duty of man to God. Education must elevate your minds, must improve your faculties of thought, must clear your vision and make you understand, as highly reasoning beings, your place and duty in the world. . . . It would be difficult for us to over-estimate our debt [to the East], whether in literature in science, or in art; and the British Government and the British people do all in their power to pay back that debt by establishing and maintaining such institutions as these.”¹

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, March 3, 1905.

March 18. Additional Minute on Dual Control of Indian Army.

“Since writing my Minute I have studied all that has been urged against my proposals in the Minutes of His Excellency the Viceroy and of Sir E. Elles, as well as in this dispatch itself. Some attempt has been made to dispute my facts, but, in my opinion, without success. My assertions have been contradicted, but not, I think, disproved. My arguments remain uncontroverted, and are, I believe, incontrovertible. I adhere, therefore, to everything that is contained in my Memorandum, and it follows that I entirely dissent from the accompanying dispatch.

Without, however, criticizing in detail the statements in this dispatch—some of which have already been fully dealt with in my original Minute—I would like to disclaim absolutely the conclusion arrived at by my colleagues that my proposals involve a military autocracy or despotism, or contemplate any weakening of that absolute control of all

military matters which is—and must remain—vested in the Governor-General in Council I recommend that that control should be exercised through a different channel; but no one recognizes more fully than I do the necessity for maintaining the control itself unimpaired I do not admit that under my proposals the Government of India in general or the Finance Department in particular will find any difficulty in obtaining all the technical advice and assistance which they can possibly desire.”¹

March 31. Kaiser Wilhelm II visits Tangier and the Germano-Moroccan question is opened.

April 25. Kitchener at Dharmsala.

May 1 (circa). Starts fund for relief of soldiers (or their dependents) who have suffered in the late earthquake at Dharmsala.

May 27–8. Battle of Tsushima; Russian Baltic Fleet defeated by Japanese Fleet under Togo.

¹ Parliamentary Papers, East India (Army Administration), 1905 (Cd. 2572). As before, the extracts have been reproduced by the printer from the printed text.

May 31. Letter of Secretary of State for India to the Governor-General of India in Council.

“I desire to lay down that, in the opinion of His Majesty’s Government, it is undesirable that in the future there should be two officers appointed to the Viceroy’s Council for the purpose of giving expert opinions on military questions, or that there should be two departments under the Government of India equipped for the purpose of dealing with purely military problems.”¹

June 6. Resignation of M. Delcassé (French Minister for Foreign Affairs) over the Moroccan question; Count von Bülow (German Chancellor) created by Kaiser Wilhelm II a Prince.

June 26. Kitchener confers at Simla with Lieutenant-Generals.

July 8. Order regulating examination in the Japanese language issued for officers in India.

¹ Mr. St. John Brodrick, Secretary of State for India. Parliamentary Papers, East India (Army Administration), 1905, p. 64. Roberts and Sir John Gordon, two soldiers of great Indian experience, supported Mr. Brodrick.

- (1) Three selected officers to proceed annually to Japan for a two years course.
- (2) Preliminary examination in Japanese to be held four months after landing in Japan.
- (3) Second examination at the end of twelve months after landing.
- (4) During second year officers to be under orders of Military Attaché at Tokyo ; officers to keep diary showing what they have done and places visited ; at end of each month diary to be given to Military Attaché for forwarding to Adjutant-General in India.
- (5) During last month of second year final examination in Japanese (50 per cent of marks to pass ; 75 per cent. for distinction).
- (6) If officer fails to pass any of these examinations, he must himself pay return passage money to India.¹

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, July 14, 1905. The above is a brief summary of the Order.

Aug. 1. Roberts at the Mansion House, London, speaks on the subject of Imperial Defence, and lays stress on lessons derived from South African War.

“In the end, owing to the inferiority of the enemy in numbers, discipline, and organization, we gained the day ; but, with such a heterogeneous and improvised force, I feel confident that we could not have hoped to have been successful against an enemy of anything like equal strength, trained and organized as are the armies of the great Military Powers.”¹

Aug. 16.

Kitchener's Memorandum on Musketry, etc., Training.

“The Commander-in-Chief directs the following remarks on the musketry training of the troops in India for 1904-5 to be published for information and guidance . . .

9. . . . The standard was purposely put very high to prevent a lot of men from wearing the marksman's badge who were not really

¹ *The Times*, August 2, 1905.

marksmen. . . . The standard will not be lowered.

11. . . . It stands to reason that if a man cannot make fair shooting at a large fixed mark at measured ranges he must get further practice, and it is no use his going on to snap shooting and field practices until he is properly grounded.

13. . . . The appliances for snap-shooting practices are generally bad. . . . The targets must come up and down, and are to be worked from a pit.

14. . . . Instead of taking a man out and saying: 'There is a target, hit it,' it would be more instructive, and would make the man take more interest, if one said, 'that target represents a sentry of the enemy; creep up as close as you can to him without exposing yourself and shoot him.' . . .

16. . . . On the range a man gets grounded in the use of his rifle, and the result of every shot is seen; but when he is off the range and fires as one of a company we have no idea where his shots are going when he is carrying out his battle training, the most important part of his musketry training. . . . The step from

the range to collective firing in as big a unit as a squadron or company is too big a one to be taken at once.

17. The preliminary training of young officers and non-commissioned officers is also often defective, and they would be the better for being individually trained with a section firing ball ammunition over various kinds of ground instead of suddenly finding themselves commanding a fire unit in a company. Unless each link in the chain is complete, want of success will follow.

18. . . . We cannot afford the rounds which a man might expend in action on service; the whole of a man's annual allowance would only last about two days' fighting, and we have also to allow for preliminary training. . . . Though nearly all Lieutenant-Generals and General Officers Commanding recommend an increase year after year, it must be understood that the most must be made of the present allowances.

19. . . . Targets should be of a form that will fall or explode when they are hit. . . .

21. . . . There is only one way to place targets, and that is to detail a party of the actual strength of the supposed enemy to occupy the enemy's position as it would do on service, and make each man carry a target and place it where he himself would actually be lying down if the position was in reality to be occupied.

24. . . . Experiments show that it is no use wasting ammunition on small objectives widely extended, but good opportunities may occur for effective fire at long ranges by the whole force employed or by a portion covering the advance of the remainder to shorter ranges. . . .

25. Another important point to consider is the formation of the men when firing. . . . One sometimes sees a thin extended line advancing, firing a few shots at each halt which are about as much use as sprinkling a few drops of water over a burning house would be, and imagining it can take a strongly held position. Widely extended formations are only meant for getting over the ground

or for holding attacks and not for assaults on positions. . . . Quick fire action is everything. Twenty per cent. of losses in 20 minutes would have far more effect on the enemy than 50 per cent. spread out over a whole day. . . . We always calculate the result of our practices by the percentage of hits to rounds fired. We might improve on this where quick effect is necessary and take into account the number of hits per minute as well.

26. . . . Fire should not be so rapid that the men have not time to aim and fire correctly. Sometimes, as in a holding attack, a slow fire by an extended line may be advisable.

32. . . . Modern fighting requires a discipline that will stand the strain of four or five days. . . . Slack fire discipline is only one of the signs of fundamental weakness in war efficiency, and the cure lies in improving such constitutional weakness in a unit by general, rather than by local or musketry remedies. . . .

33. . . . One hardly ever sees tools brought out to field firing. . . . Tools must be brought out and used, and at all manœuvres officers must insist on their use both in attack and defence. It is well known that after the siege of Plevna every Russian soldier who could get hold of a spade carried it till the end of the war. . . . There is an art not only in digging a proper trench but in knowing where to put it and when it is required. . . .

35. There are two prevalent ideas about the Maxim both equally erroneous: (*a*) that it is an automatic machine, and that any one can press the button and the enemy will be destroyed; and (*b*) that it is a much over-rated machine whose fire effect is of little value, but that it has a certain amount of moral effect. The real fact of the case is that it is a very powerful weapon, but its power entirely depends upon the way it is handled, and on the man who is handling it. He must be an expert. . . .

36. The tactical use of the machine-gun is not studied. Commanding officers sometime

seem to forget that they have such weapons. . . .

37. Signallers are seen at work nearly every day. . . . Range-finding does not receive the same attention. To use the Mekometer with any degree of accuracy is a most difficult business, and expertness with it can only be attained by perpetual practice. We get complaints that the instrument is not accurate, or that enough are not supplied, and that it is difficult to use in the field. It is the only instrument we have, and we must make the best of it." ¹

Aug. 17.

"I regret that I should be compelled to protest against that portion of the Viceroy's telegram of the 10th August which purports to give a summary of my proposals in regard to the system of military administration about to be introduced into India. In my opinion, that summary not only seriously misrepresents the proposals I have

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, September 1 and 8, 1905.

actually made, but even attributes to me others, which I have nowhere brought forward." ¹

Aug. 20. Announcement of Lord Curzon's resignation of Viceroyalty of India.

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, September 1, 1905.

CHAPTER VII

Commander-in-Chief in India (*contd.*). Military training tests—Speech at the New Indian Staff College Dinner—Syllabus for Indian Staff College Examination—Wins prize for orchids—Journey to Nepaul—On the Gurkhas—Indian Army divided into two portions, Northern and Southern—A General Staff for Indian Army—The “master-key of business”—Conception of a modern army—Speech to Masons—Farewell order—Visits China, the Manchurian battle-fields, Corea, and Japan—Sails for Java and Australia—Ship runs aground—Arrives at Port Darwin.

1905, *Aug.* 30. Kitchener leaves Simla *en route* for Kulu, Dalhousie, and Mandi.

Sept. 5. Treaty of Peace between Russia and Japan.

Sept. 6. Kitchener at Sultanpur.

Sept. 7. Memorandum on Military Training Tests.

“ The test instituted by Indian Army Ord No. 726, of 1904, as modified below, will from the future be used as a method of inspection of all infantry units—

(1) There will be no general competition throughout the Army. . . .

(2) It is to be understood that the entire test is to be carried out as a continuous series of operations, and not split up into portions carried out at intervals.

(3) Details of the test, with the marks allotted to the various headings, are given in the Schedule below.

SCHEDULE.

(1) *Marching*.—The battalion to march 10 miles under service conditions preparatory to carrying out the attack (the test referred to in (2) below). Every man present in parade to carry 100 rounds of ammunition. This is not to be a forced march. Maximum marks: For pace (to be not less than 30 nor more than 4 miles an hour), 20; marching discipline, 60; signalling and semaphore, 20.

condition of the men on completion, 40; other points, 20—total, 160.

(2) *Attack of positions*.—Maximum marks : Framing of orders, 40; reconnoitring and reporting, 60; the adoption of a formation suitable to the ground and fire, 40; protection of flanks, 20; use of natural cover, 20; capacity of subordinate commanders, 50; estimating distances, 20; supply of ammunition, 30; fire discipline and control, 50; fire effect, 30; signalling and semaphore, 30; the assault, 30; rallying and redistribution after the assault, 50; use of spade in the attack, 40; casualties and first aid, 30; other points, 30—total, 570.

(3) *Duties in bivouac*.—Maximum marks : total, 120.

(4) *Outposts day and night*.—Maximum marks : total, 260.

(5) *Night operations*.—Maximum marks : total, 180.

It should be borne in mind that night operations are usually a prelude to an attack at dawn.

(6) *Defence of positions*.—Maximum marks : total, 330.

(7) *Retirements covered by rear-guards.*—Battalion to retire over at least 6 miles followed up by an actual enemy. Not less than 20 rounds blank per man should be reserved for this test. Maximum marks : total, 200.

Transport duties.—Maximum marks : total 130.

Miscellaneous duties.—Maximum marks Gymnastics, physical drill and running drill 50 ; scouting, 80 ; physical condition, 70 other points, 50—total, 250.

Deductions : (1) *Marching inefficiency.*—Ten marks for each man falling out during tests (1) or (7).

(2) *Military inefficiency.*—Two marks for every third-class shot ; 1 mark for every second-class shot at the end of the musketry year.

(3) *Personal inefficiency.*—If the average daily number of men in hospital through venereal disease or alcoholism (as shown in the last quarterly return) exceeds 10 per 1,000, a deduction of 5 marks for each point in excess per 1,000 will be made.”¹

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, September 15, 1905.

Sept. 12. At Nagar in Kangra.

Returns to Simla.

Sept. 25. Speaks at Indian Staff College Dinner, Simla.

“GENTLEMEN,—If it is true as General Duff has told you that I am the father of the Indian Staff College, then it is highly satisfactory to have learnt to-night from General Bayly what a healthy and promising infant has been born. But I cannot entirely claim this paternity. We must, I think, look a little deeper for causes that have led to the establishment of a Staff College in India. It is the outcome of our experiences in the South African War. . . . Let us face hard facts and not be content with theories. Above all things we must be practical. If the Indian Staff College fills a want, and enables the best of the young officers in India to study the higher branches of their profession locally without extra expense, and if it supplies the Indian Army with a sufficient staff of officers of such trained ability as will ensure their gaining the confidence of the Generals under whom they

serve, and of the troops for whom they work in peace and war; then it will certainly live and be a success. This, gentlemen, is the aim and object which all of us have in view. . . . It has been said that there is a danger of our introducing two schools of thought into the Army, and that our graduates may not attain the standard of education produced at Camberley. The first of these objections is very vague, and, to my mind partakes rather of the nature of a bogey than of a serious criticism that will bear the light of examination. . . . In England and India we have now the same lessons to learn the same examples to follow, and these are not now, as previously, entirely set by the West. We must look eastwards for more recent experiences of war on a large scale . . . I think we all realize that great improvements have recently been made at Camberley. The old stationary period has disappeared and we now see what can be done by up-to-date methods of military education. Well one important effect of a Staff College at Quetta must, I think, be to prevent any relapse into the old state of things on the

part of either College, and to keep up the standard of excellence of instruction at both. If this be the result of a second school of thought, then it is certainly for the good of the Army generally. Healthy rivalry can do no harm, but we shall never allow the least jealous antagonism. . . . As regards the standard of education of our graduates, I need only say that we shall make it as high as possible, but not so high as to keep outside the pale those young officers who by nature and ability have the making of practical Staff Officers. We want to educate the best of what we have got, not to create ideal standards that cannot be realized.”¹

Sept. 27. With Major-General Sclater, Lieutenant-Colonel Birdwood, and Colonel Hubert Hamilton, leaves Simla for Rawalpindi.

Oct. 6 (circa). Surveys area near Rawalpindi selected for December manœuvres.

Oct. 13. At Colaba, Bombay ; leaves for Surat and Baroda.

Oct. 23. Present at Lord Curzon’s departure from Simla.

¹ *Pioneer Mail* September 29, 1905.

Nov. 8. At Lucknow ; among spectators of Boxing Tournament (November 13).

Dec. 4. Resignation of Balfour Ministry
Sir H. Campbell - Bannerman becomes
(December 5) Prime Minister, and Mr
Haldane Secretary of State for War.

Dec. 5 and 7. Kitchener at Rawalpindi manœuvres.

“ Advantage was taken of the Manœuvres to experiment with various appliances. Wireless telegraphy, on the German system, was tried, but we have not heard with what results. The Northern Army had telephones with the Austro-Hungarian wire, and also the 3rd Company of Sappers with the Southern Army. Balloons of new pattern, silk, and fabric were used with General Gaselee's Divisional troops, and were used south of the Margalla Ridge, when General Barrow's enveloping movement was progressing. The Japanese pattern of carrier for ammunition and of their entrenching tools were experimented with. The X-ray apparatus was with the Principal Medical Office of the Northern Army. The 9th Lancer had a Danish Rexer automatic gun, which can be carried in a bucket, attached to the saddle. The Royal Artillery semaphore was

with the 11th Battery R.F.A. General Clements had Russian soup-carts with his Brigade. The 12th Lancers had Crocker's equipment for carrying their rifles and also lance buckets. In the camp here there is an exhibition of military equipment and inventions of a varied kind. The most interesting of these is a quick-firing field-gun which the Artillery in India are still waiting to receive, its issue having been delayed by a dilatoriness of the Ordnance Department and War Office at Home. It may be noted that motor-cars owned and driven by officers were much in evidence at Kala-Ka-Sarai, and also they have been most useful, as they could be driven at high speed along the Grand Trunk Road. The Royal party, Lord Kitchener and Staff, occasionally took advantage of them when rapid movement was desired."¹

Dec. 8. With Prince and Princess of Wales at Review on Khanna Plain.

"Every precaution had been taken to prevent the spectacle being spoiled by dust. A broad space had been sown with barley, and beyond this straw had been laid down, so that the ground was not broken up. A contingent of *bhisties* were employed also in watering the space at intervals. The second march past

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, December 15, 1905.

was that upon which interest centred, for it was an absolute novelty. The formation adopted under Lord Kitchener's orders had never been tried either at Home or in India and no rehearsal had been possible owing to the Manœuvres. The plan was to show a whole War Division, complete with its Divisional troops, just as it would take the field—one, in fact, of the nine Divisions which Lord Kitchener had recently formed for active service. Each Infantry Division came by its Brigades, in line of quarter column, massed by Divisions, thus presenting a front of nearly 200 yards. The Cavalry and Horse Artillery were on the outer flanks in mass, and the Field Artillery in column of Batteries. The result was a magnificent and imposing sight, the solidity of the formation being its chief characteristic. The troops marched past at a slow step, and the close intervals were perfectly maintained. One saw a mass of men moving in what may be compared to a forest of bayonets, save where the Rifle regiments were placed, and the Regimental Colours rose above the helmets and turbans to mark the position of this or that regiment. Squads of scarlet khaki, or rifle-green moved slowly past, and the impression made by this mass of Infantry will be long remembered by all who saw the Review. It was superbly grand, and Lord Kitchener may well congratulate himself on having ordered this new formation to be tried

in honour of the Prince. It was a complete success, and we know now what one of the new War Divisions looks like when thus paraded.”¹

Dec. 11. At Calcutta.

1906, *Jan.* 26. Leaves for Ramkanali to witness field firing of Bengal-Nagpur Railway Volunteer Rifles.

Feb. Publication of Syllabus for Indian Staff College Entrance Examination.

Obligatory Subjects.

Mathematics, 400 marks.

Military Engineering, 400 marks.

Military Law, 300 marks.

Military Administration, 400 marks.

Military Geography, 400 marks.

One language (French, German, Hindustani, or Russian), 400 marks.

Military topography, tactics, military history, strategy (2 papers), 600 marks.

Voluntary Subjects.

Mathematics, 400 marks.

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, December 15, 1905.

History, specially dealing with Chitral and Tirah campaigns and Peninsular War (2 papers), 600 marks.

Additional language (French, German Hindustani, Russian, Arabic, Pushtu, or Persian), 400 marks.

(Handwriting not easily legible to disqualify.)¹

Feb. 10. First *Dreadnought* launched (at Portsmouth).

March. Kitchener visits Darjeeling.

Wins prize for the best display of Dendrobium orchids at the Orchid and Floral Exhibition, Victoria Nursery, Calcutta

March 28. Speech at Legislative Council.

“The Honourable Mr. Gokhale would prefer to rely entirely on what he termed ‘citizen-soldiership’ framed on Japanese lines. From my short experience of this country and its inhabitants, I am not convinced that the people of India would welcome, with all his enthusiasm, the introduction of conscription

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, February 16, 1906.

with rates of pay that would necessarily be very much lower than the soldier receives at present. . . .

. . . In all great industries it is the unquestionable duty of employers of labour to do all in their power to remove any deficiency or defect in their arrangements which might be productive of needless risk or danger to their dependents. . . . If, then, the owner of a mine only does his duty in securing his employées from the obvious risks which surround them in the exercise of their calling—if he would rightly be convicted of a grave dereliction of such duty if he were not to protect them from the dangers of fire-damp, or were to send them down into the shafts in worn-out cages—surely a Government only fulfils an equally essential obligation in endeavouring to protect its soldiers who devote their lives to the State, from needless destruction, by giving them the means which are essential for the performance of their dangerous duties. . . . It is an unfortunate fact that, ever since the days of bows and arrows, the cost of lethal weapons and munitions of war has steadily increased. That, however, is a factor

beyond our control. But we have been and are still doing the best we can to reduce the expenditure thus caused as much as possible. By the extension of Indian factories we hope to be able to turn out guns and other equipments more cheaply than we have hitherto been able to obtain them from England ; and this course will have the further advantage to India that the money spent on labour will go to Indian workpeople. . . . I think every one will agree with me that before even discussing any addition to our forces, it is our duty to try by improvements in our arrangements, to make the best of those already at our disposal. This is what we are trying to do. . . . Capitalists will not place their money in India, or assist in the development of its resources on which this country's prosperity so much depends unless they are convinced that there is assured security. Therefore, if we desire to attract capital and act up to the motto 'Advance India,' we must be careful that no idea gets abroad that our position is insecure or that we are neglecting necessary precautions. . . . The loyalty, bravery, and devotion of this army are all factors upon which confident reliance can

be placed ; but its preparedness to take the field must depend largely upon the action of Government, for even an army of heroes can only be sacrificed if it be not provided with the necessary organization and equipments which are essential for success in modern war.”¹

March 28. Leaves Calcutta on Spring Tour.

March 30. At Jubbulpore.

April. Visits the Zhob Valley and Quetta.

April 25. Arrives at Simla.

July 31. Addresses Committee on Enteric Fever.

“GENTLEMEN,—I have thought it necessary to form this Standing Committee to advise us in our efforts to reduce enteric fever amongst the troops in this country, and to co-ordinate the work of the whole medical profession, civil and military, in this direction. . . . I may suggest as the main outlines for action sanitation in cantonments and barracks, isolation of

¹ Financial Statement of the Government of India for 1906–1907, pp. 204–7.

enteric patients, detection of the origin of an outbreak or a single case, inoculation and blood examination.”¹

Sept. 4. Mr. Haldane, British Secretary of State for War, received in audience at Berlin by Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Sept. 11. Kitchener at Abbotabad en route for Kashmir.

Sept. 12. Memorandum of Mr. Haldane on need for a General Staff, and Army Order constituting one.

Sept. 13.

“His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve of the following battalion of the Foot Guards and Infantry of the Line being reduced—

FOOT GUARDS.

3rd Batt. Coldstream Guards.
3rd Batt. Scots Guards.

INFANTRY OF THE LINE.

3rd and 4th Batts. Northumberland Fusiliers
3rd and 4th Batts. Royal Warwickshire Regt

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, August 3, 1906.

3rd and 4th Batts. Lancashire Fusiliers.
3rd and 4th Batts. Manchester Regt.”¹

Sept. 29. Kitchener arrives at Simla from Kashmir.

Suffers from a slight attack of fever.

Oct. 23. At Umballa.

Nov. 2–3. At Dehra Dun.

Nov. 7. At Kathmandu.

Nov. 10. Speaks at Nepaul Durbar.

“Should it fall to my lot to be appointed the leader of troops in case of serious war, I should feel proud to have under my command the Army of Nepaul, and to associate it with the Gurkhas of our Army, who have long been recognized as some of our bravest and most efficient soldiers.”²

Nov. 19. Leaves Agra for Aligarh; addresses students of Mohammedan College.

Nov. 24. Attends and speaks at Meerut Rifle Meeting.

“The observation of fire effect is an im-

¹ Special Army Order. *The Times*, September 14, 1906.

² *Pioneer Mail*, November 30, 1906.

portant matter, but equally, if not more so, is the observation of the enemy's movements and his dispositions. The leaders should realize that the field-glasses in their possession are of the greatest importance, and they should be systematically trained to use them. Officers should assist one another by rapidly communicating information, and be careful not to fall into the error of thinking that what has been seen by them must necessarily have been seen by others. . . . I must remind you that although a soldier is no good unless he can use his rifle effectively in the fighting line, he has to get there, and must, therefore, be able to stand the strain and the fatigue of a campaign. It is the duty of every soldier to keep himself fit and healthy. Wanton negligence of this important duty is quite as culpable as neglect to learn how to shoot." ¹

Nov. 26. At Poona.

Dec. 8. Speech of Mr. Haldane at Brighton

"The futility of pitting troops, however brave and good they might be, who were no

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, November 30, 1906.

thoroughly trained and organized against highly trained troops was illustrated in the Franco-German and Japanese wars, and the triumph of high organization which those wars afforded. We must lay this lesson to heart" (Mr. Haldane).¹

Dec. 10. Kitchener at Calcutta.

1907, *Jan. 10.* Present at Agra at reception of Ameer of Afghanistan.

Jan. 16. Leaves Agra for Poona.

Jan. 17. Present at Poona Manœuvres; thrown from his horse.

Jan. 22. Returns to Calcutta.

March 4. Mr. Haldane in House of Commons introduces Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill.

March 27. Speech of Kitchener at Legislative Council.

"Our arrangements are made to maintain the security of this country and its teeming

¹ *The Times*, December 10, 1906.

millions of inhabitants, whom we have undertaken to protect, and for whom we are determined to ensure tranquillity in the homes. Our policy is, therefore, a purely defensive one, for it is most unlikely that we shall ever attack any other Power, or, indeed, undertake any military operations, unless the necessity is forced upon us through aggression or acts which compel us to defend what we hold. . . . I have seen it stated that we intend to place a large portion of the Indian force on the North-West Frontier, whilst others seem to be under the impression that the troops are to be collected together in certain great cantonments. Neither of these statements are in any way accurate. . . . We have been attempting to form Divisions self-contained in all respects—not only ready and able to take the field themselves, but also to leave behind, when mobilized, sufficient troops to provide adequately for order and tranquillity in the areas from which they are drawn on mobilization. It has also been necessary to establish these Divisions on the main lines of railway, in such a manner that they can be transported rapidly when required. . . . The Divisions will be

established *en echelon* one behind the other on our various railway lines, so that we carry out the principle of conveniently dispersing our troops in peace whilst providing for their rapid concentration in war. It must not be forgotten that distance is a factor of comparatively minor importance in the railway concentration of troops for war. . . . We want to move the troops from unhealthy stations. . . . In order to make the best use of our existing material it is not only necessary that we should do all in our power to mitigate climatic effects as far as possible, but it is of equal importance that we should distribute our available forces so as to secure their efficient training in fighting formations in time of peace. . . . With the permission of the Secretary of State and the courteous assistance of our gallant allies, the Japanese, we are arranging to send a party of . . . young Staff Officers to Manchuria, where they will be able to study on the ground the course of those recent great military operations and learn the many remarkable lessons which that campaign disclosed.”¹

¹ Financial Statement of the Government of India for 1907-1908, pp. 222-4.

April 15. At Dehra Dun ; leaves for Umballa.

April 22. Arrives at Peshawar from Nowshera.

April 26. At Simla.

May 14. Memorandum on Redistribution of Indian Army.

“With the approval of the Secretary of State, and under the sanction of the Government of India, the present commands—Northern, Western, and Eastern—will cease to exist from the 1st of June, 1907, and the Army in India will from that date be divided into two portions, viz. the Northern Army and the Southern Army, each under the command of a General Officer provided with a suitable staff. The Northern Army will comprise Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Meerut, and Lucknow Divisions, and the three independent Frontier Brigades of Kohat, Bannu, and Derajat. The Southern Army will comprise Quetta, Mhow, Poona, and Secunderabad Divisions, with the garrisons of Burmah and Aden.

The duty of the General Officers appointed to command each Army will be to ensure general uniformity in training and discipline in the Divisions under their command. . . . All administrative work that has hitherto been performed at the Headquarters of the present Commands will, in future, be conducted by the General Officers commanding Divisions.”¹

July 5. Speaks at the Annual Meeting of the Army Temperance Association.

“One of the main factors in the efficiency of the Army is that its ranks shall be filled with sober, temperate men.”²

Aug. 31. Anglo-Russian Agreement as to Persia and Central Asia concluded.

Sept. 24. Speech at the Indian Staff College Dinner, Simla.

“I am sure it will particularly interest you

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, May 17, 1907.

² *Ibid.*, July 12, 1907.

all to hear that I have recently had under my consideration the formation of a General Staff for the Indian Army on modern lines. The point on which I have had to lay special emphasis in that connection is that a General Staff exists for war, and that its organization and duties, to be allotted to it in peace, must be decided with reference to its rôle in war. The point sounds elementary enough when thus stated, and yet experience shows that it is just this consideration which nations and even armies are most apt to forget during years of peace. Therefore, gentlemen, . . . I would ask you all never to lose sight of this paramount consideration, that all questions of organization as well as of training, existing or proposed in the Army, should be judged by the test of their suitability under war conditions. In a nation like ours this ideal cannot always be reached, and it is frequently necessary to accept the attainable, but the ideal should always be there, present to our minds, and we should work towards it, slowly it may be, but ceaselessly and with no uncertainty of purpose.”¹

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, September 27, 1907.

Nov. 3. Leaves Simla for tour in the Phulkian States ; arrives at Patiala.

Nov. 15. At Poona.

Dec. 14. At Calcutta.

1908, *Feb.* 14. Letter of Kaiser Wilhelm II to Lord Tweedmouth, First Lord of the Admiralty.

“BERLIN,

February 14, 1908.

MY DEAR LORD TWEEDMOUTH,

May I intrude on your precious time and ask for a few moments' attention to these lines I venture to submit to you.

I see by the daily papers and reviews that a battle royal is being fought about the needs of the Navy. I therefore venture to furnish you with some information anent the German Naval Programme which, it seems, is being quoted by all parties to further their ends by trying to frighten the peaceable British taxpayer with it as a bogey.

During my last pleasant visit to your hospitable shores I tried to make your Authorities understand what the drift of the German Naval policy is. But I am afraid that my explanations have been either misunderstood or not believed, because I see the 'German Danger' and the 'German Challenge to

British Naval Supremacy' constantly quoted in the different articles. This phrase if not repudiated or corrected, sown broadcast over the country and daily dinned into British ears might in the end create most deplorable results. I therefore deem it advisable as Admiral of the Fleet to lay some facts before you, to enable you to see clearly.

It is absolutely *nonsensical* and *untrue* that the German Naval Bill is to provide a Navy meant as a 'challenge to British Naval Supremacy.' The German Fleet is built *against* nobody at all. It is solely built *for* Germany's needs in relation with that country's rapidly growing trade. . . . In the letter Lord Esher caused to be published a short time ago he wrote 'that every German from the Emperor down to the last man wished for the downfall of Sir John Fisher.' Now I am at a loss to tell whether the supervision of the foundations and drains of the Royal Palaces is apt to qualify somebody for the judgment of Naval Affairs in general. As far as regards German Affairs Naval the phrase is a piece of unmitigated balderdash, and has created an immense merriment in the circle of those 'who know' here. . . . Let us all remember the warning Admiral Sir John Fisher gave to his hearers in November when he so cleverly cautioned them not to get scared, by using the admirable phrase, 'I Eve had not allways [*sic*] kept her eye on the

apple, she would not have eaten it, and we should not now be bothered with clothes.'

I remain,

Yours truly,

(Sd.) WILLIAM I.R.

Admiral of the Fleet." ¹

March 7-9. . Kitchener at Murshidabad.

March 9. Returns to Calcutta.

March 16.

"I have the honour, by direction of the Commander-in-Chief, to submit, for the information of the Government of India, the accompanying dispatch from Major-General Sir James Willcocks . . . describing the operations of the Bazar Valley Field Force.

2. The speed with which the Force was mobilized, and the rapidity of its movement

¹ The whole of the extraordinary letter from which we have quoted was first published by the *Morning Post*, on October 30, 1914. The *Morning Post's* copy was 'a literal transcript of the original document, in which occur a few slips in spelling.' The existence of the letter was revealed to the public by *The Times* military correspondent in a letter published by that journal on March 6, 1908. He "ventured to urge that the letter" (together with Lord Tweedmouth's reply) "should be laid before Parliament without delay."

into the Bazar Valley and subsequent operations, contributed very largely to the quick and successful termination of the expedition. . . .

5. Lord Kitchener is confident that the Government of India will agree with him in considering that the work done reflects the greatest credit on all concerned.”¹

The Viceroy, Lord Minto's, comments on this minor operation, which was followed by the successful Mohmands Expedition, were—

“The most expensive weapon may be the cheapest in the long run. We may justly claim the recent expedition as an example. His Excellency Lord Kitchener's military organization enabled us to draw a sharper and better-tempered sword than we have ever drawn before—the machinery of the expeditionary force had been tested in the Commander-in-Chief's workshop before it took the field, and, when it did so, it was complete in every detail; the result has been an expedition of exceptional success and brevity, and brevity means economy.”²

¹ Parliamentary Papers, East India (Military Operations), 1908 (Cd. 338), p. 117.

² Financial Statement of the Government of India for 1908–1909, p. 234.

March 18. Army Order issued in England announcing formation of Officers' Training Corps to be organized in two divisions—

(1) Senior Division, consisting of University units.

(2) Junior Division, consisting of Public School units.

March 27. Speech of Kitchener at Legislative Council.

“The Honourable Mr. Gokhale and some other Honourable Members alluded to a possible reduction in military expenditure consequent on the recent Agreement and the cordial relations which so happily exist between a great northern Power and ourselves. The Council may rest assured that this factor has by no means been lost sight of, nor has it been underrated ; but it must be remembered that other weighty considerations affecting the external and internal security of this country have to be kept constantly in view.”¹

¹ Financial Statement of the Government of India for 1908–1909, p. 222.

March 27. Leaves for Jubbulpore.

April 5. At Bhopal; visits the Begum of Bhopal.

April 7. At State Banquet.

“The Begum was about to read her address to Lord Kitchener from behind a screen in the drawing-room, when Mrs. Bayley, at Lord Kitchener’s request, asked Her Highness to come into the dining-room. Her Highness readily complied, coming forward and proposing Lord Kitchener’s health in the midst of all the company present. Lord Kitchener replied with a charming little speech.”¹

April 8. Mr. Asquith becomes Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George Chancellor of the Exchequer (April 12).

April 15. Kitchener at Peshawar.

April 18. Leaves Peshawar for Kohat.

April 21. At Quetta.

April 25. At Simla.

June 17. Presides at General Cowans’ lecture on “Sea Transport.”

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, April 24, 1908.

July 6. Speech at Indian Staff College Dinner.

“The buildings, though not beautiful, are adequate for the housing of the Staff College, and the situation is all that could be desired, but what pleased me most in my recent visit was the tone that pervades the whole college. It is exactly what I hoped it would be, both amongst the professors and students. A college is not a school, and studious, manly, soldier-like individuality is being fully developed amongst the students at Quetta. . . . Undoubtedly you are taught a good deal about the present art of war, an art continually changing and of a depth that a two years' course will not allow you to fathom it. The real importance of the training afforded at the Staff College is that you learn how to learn and how to delight in learning, so that after you leave the college you may through all your service keep yourself thoroughly proficient and study with pleasure those deep sources of knowledge of the art of war, for which the time at the college was not available. . . . It is only by continuous subsequent

study that an officer can make himself fit for the higher staff appointments which the Staff College course opens to him. . . . I would impress on those young officers of the Indian Army who have ambition that they should take advantage of the opportunity recently offered to them of being attached to British troops at the training centres of Aldershot, Salisbury, and Curragh when they visit England on leave. . . . After all, one of the best training schools for an officer is war itself, and as General Duff has told you, I have directed that in future the fact that their being seconded as students at the Staff College shall no longer be a bar to officers accompanying their units on active service whenever the opportunity arises. . . . By this step I hope and believe that I have removed the last condition which could prevent every ambitious officer of the Army in India from looking forward to being one of the hosts of myself or my successors on such occasions as the present.”¹

July 24. Revolution in Turkey; Young Turks obtain power.

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, July 10, 1908.

Sept. 14. Kitchener leaves Simla for Dehra Dun.

Oct. 1. Motors in four hours from Kalka to Simla.

Oct. 7. Bosnia-Herzegovina annexed by Austria-Hungary; Bulgaria about the same time declared by Prince Ferdinand to be completely independent.

Oct. 28. *Daily Telegraph* publishes interview with Kaiser Wilhelm II.

"You English," he said, "are mad, mad, mad as March hares. . . . I have said time after time that I am a friend of England, and your Press—or, at least, a considerable section of it—bids the people of England refuse my proffered hand, and insinuates that the other holds a dagger. . . . The prevailing sentiment among large sections of the middle and lower classes of my own people is not friendly to England. I am, therefore, so to speak, in a minority in my own land, but it is a minority of the best elements, just as it is in England with respect to Germany." ¹

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, October 28, 1908. In this interview the Kaiser also asserted that he had materially assisted

Nov. 4. Kitchener at Peshawar.

Nov. 10. At Karachi.

Nov. 16. At Bhavnagar.

“I am glad that the detestable spirit of violence has not penetrated into your State, and that any symptoms of crime will meet with prompt suppression at Your Highness's hands.”¹

Nov. 26. At Cape Comorin.

Dec. 11. At Madras.

Dec. 13. At Bangalore.

Dec. 15. Leaves for Mysore City.

Dec. 17. At Hyderabad.

Great Britain against the Boers in the South African War by sketching out for Queen Victoria a plan of campaign—similar to and prior in date to that of Lord Roberts. The publication of the interview produced an outcry against the Kaiser in Germany, and he was publicly reproved by the Chancellor, Prince von Bülow. It should be noted that the Kaiser's apparent indiscretion occurred three weeks after the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina at a time when it was to the interest of Germany that Great Britain should not join with Russia and France to prevent the annexation being made permanent.

¹ To the Thakur Sahib of Bhavnagar. *Pioneer Mail*, November 20, 1908.

Dec. 19. Addresses 86th Carnatic Light Infantry.

“ I need hardly say that just as the King’s colour is the symbol of that fidelity and devotion to the sovereign which is one of the highest of military virtues, so is the regimental colour the symbol of that spirit of soldierly self-respect and regard for regimental tradition which we all know and appreciate as *esprit de corps*. The value of sentiments of this kind cannot be overrated. They help the soldier to do his duty with courage and devotion under the most adverse circumstances, and they arouse in all ranks that determination to equal and, if possible, to surpass the deeds of their predecessors which is one of the surest guarantees of victory.”¹

Leaves Hyderabad for Calcutta.

1909. Sanctions opening of subscription lists throughout Indian Army for relief of sufferers in Messina earthquake.

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, December 25, 1908.

Jan. 27. Speaks at Annual Dinner of the Calcutta Trades' Association.

“ I am surrounded here to-night by business men who, as practical men of the world, know perfectly that good security is the bed-rock on which all expansion of business and wealth and prosperity must depend, and that without that essential condition there can be no real progress or steady continued development whether it be in the case of a nation or of a firm or individual. . . .

There is also one other master-key of business which you all are careful always to keep in your pockets, and that is keeping your own counsel.” ¹

Feb. 12. Leaves Calcutta for shooting trip in Dacca district.

Feb. 23. Returns to Calcutta.

Feb. 26. Declaration of London (new code for naval warfare) issued by the Powers.

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, January 29, 1909.

March 29. Speech of Kitchener at Legislative Council.

“ My sole aim, throughout my tenure of appointment as Commander-in-Chief, has been to place the administration of the Army in India on a sound business footing.

A modern army is not, as is sometimes erroneously supposed, a costly toy maintained for purposes of ceremonial and display, nor, on the other hand, is it an instrument of aggression to be used for national or individual aggrandizement. It is simply an insurance against national disaster ; and the expenditure incurred on it is strictly comparable with private expenditure on similar precautionary measures.

The first business condition necessary to justify our military expenditure is that the army maintained should be in a thoroughly efficient state, and, therefore, able, at all times of need, to carry out whatever may be expected from its numerical strength. Expenditure of money on an inefficient army can no more be defended than the payment of premia to an insolvent company.

. . . We could now mobilize and place in the field an army consisting of nine Infantry Divisions and eight Cavalry Brigades. . . It is certain that the mobilization could be carried out effectively and with a degree of rapidity previously unattainable, and that, in addition, we should leave in India a sufficient force, suitably organized and staffed, to maintain public security in every part of the country. . . . Our regiments and battalions have been renumbered as units of one army thus obliterating the last traces of old Presidential distinctions. . . . An original test of training was introduced, under which every battalion in India was examined and marked for proficiency in every branch of military training by a board of qualified inspecting officers, specially selected for the purpose. I do not think that the value of this test was fully realized. The result showed, however, that the standard of training in our best regiments was excellent; but it also brought to light, and enabled us to rectify, many weak points—amongst others the desirability of raising the fighting value of certain units by the substitution, partially or wholly, of superior fighting

racés ; and, as cases in point, I may mention the raising of the number of Gurkha Battalions from sixteen to twenty and the formation of the 106th Hazara Pioneers. . . . In order to obtain an efficient, well-trained, and well-disciplined army, it is necessary to organize and train our troops as nearly as practicable in the same formations as will be employed during war, and under the same commanders and with the same staffs. . . . It is with this object that the Divisional System has been introduced into India. . . . We have created the Indian Staff College at Quetta, working in close touch with the similar institution at Camberley. . . . By an improved distribution of staff duties, we have also been trying gradually to secure greater co-ordination and better staff work throughout the service. . . . We have recognized that the complete re-armament of the Artillery with quick-firing guns was essential ; and this, in turn, owing to the more rapid rate of fire that is maintained in modern war, involved more ammunition, more wagons, more horses, and larger establishments. Then again, for similar reasons, we have been obliged to re-arm the whole of our

troops with the new rifle. I am glad to say that both these expensive changes have now been practically completed. In doing so we have borne in mind the importance of rendering India self-supporting as regards the manufacture and repair of all such war-material. We are now able to manufacture in India besides the new quick-firing guns and the latest rifle, all the shells, fuses, etc., as well as small arms ammunition. . . . The Supply and Transport Corps, which was formerly divorced from the general administration of the Army has now been brought into its organization, so as to fulfil the requirements of divisions and brigades, both in peace and war, in an economical and efficient manner. . . . Two years ago I referred to the necessity that would have to be faced sooner or later of bettering the conditions of service of the native ranks of the Indian Army, and also of doing something to improve the position of the British officer especially in the junior ranks. . . . We doubled the kit money of the native troops . . . we granted free passages to an increased number of men proceeding to their homes on leave; we gave a boot allowance to all

unmounted combatants, and free fodder to the Native Cavalry on the march ; we improved the pension rules. . . . These measures tended to ameliorate the conditions of service of our Indian soldiers ; and this year, as we know, His Majesty the King-Emperor has approved a substantial increase of pay and free firewood to all native ranks. The pay of the junior officers has also been materially improved. . . .

Two years ago in this Council I explained that my policy of redistribution did not contemplate the massing of large numbers of troops on the North-West Frontier, and that I was entirely opposed to any such policy. Notwithstanding that declaration, I see that recently a distinguished General Officer, formerly Military Member of the Viceroy's Council, has stated, in a letter to the papers, that he knows far better than I do what my policy meant, and that the massing of troops on the frontier was the real intention of my redistribution scheme. I can only say that, if such was the case, I have signally failed in carrying it into effect ; for I have only allotted £285,600 for accommodation on the frontier out of the total of £958,400 spent on ad-

ditional buildings. . . . I am convinced that real economy in military expenditure must be the work of the officers of the Army themselves. They, and they alone, are in a position to recognize unhesitatingly the sources of waste, the expenditure which is not necessary to maintain efficiency, and that which, though consecrated by long usage, can be terminated advantageously. But the enforcement of true economy is at best a thankless and disagreeable task. No man undertakes it willingly unless he knows that his efforts will be recognized and acknowledged. Given responsibility, and the knowledge that praise or blame wait on the manner in which that responsibility is upheld, I have no doubt whatever that the officers of the Army will prove themselves capable of sound and economical administration. This year, therefore, the Indian Army Estimates have been compiled on a Divisional basis, showing clearly all sums, for the administration of which each General Officer Commanding a Division or Independent Brigade is responsible. At the same time a decentralization of the Military Accounts Department has been carried out, by means of

which each Divisional General has been provided with a Financial Adviser. The scrutiny and the comparison of results will now be easy ; the responsibility will be clearly defined ; and I hope for the best results from this seemingly simple reform.

In concluding these remarks, which are the last that I shall have the honour to address to this Council, I hope that I may be allowed to say a word about the system of army administration. . . . India is the only country under the British Crown which maintains a large army and can carry out a continuous policy for its improvement. My advice to the Government of India is not to lose the system which you now possess, or change it back to the dual control which has been abandoned and abolished. Continuity of policy in army affairs is essential, in order to attain economical efficiency. If you duplicate your advisers, you will reel through the mazes of military technicalities, leaning first on the shoulder of one and then on that of the other, and continuity will and must be lost.”¹

¹ Financial Statement of the Government of India for 1909-1910, pp. 207-15.

Leaves Calcutta for Benares.

Tour in Rajputana.

April 29. Arrives at Simla.

Kitchener's warning to the Government of India not to revert to a system of dual control of the Indian Army should not at the present time be forgotten. On July 20, 1916, in the House of Lords, Lord Cromer adversely criticized Kitchener's system. "What had happened," he said, "in Mesopotamia afforded the most complete vindication of the attitude taken up by Lord Curzon."

In a letter to *The Times* of July 22, 1916, General Sir O'Moore Creagh, Kitchener's successor as Commander-in-Chief in India, however, wrote: "After having worked Lord Kitchener's system for four and a half years . . . I can confidently say it was a sound system, and infinitely better than that it superseded." It had, he admitted, defects. "That there is a flaw," he said, "in the system no one is more painfully aware than I am or than Lord Kitchener was himself, but he was not responsible for it. It was, he told me, forced on him by Government. Before he left India he tried to mitigate it, but failed. That flaw is the system of Army finance." The whole of Sir O'Moore's letter should be carefully studied. If Kitchener's system is to be judged by results, the facts that the Indian Expeditionary Force arrived in *October 1914* at the Battle of Ypres, where it rendered invaluable services, that soldiers like Sir Douglas Haig, Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir William Birdwood, and the late General Hubert Hamilton were under Kitchener in India, and that the Mesopotamian Campaign was at first successful, ought in justice to Kitchener's memory to be taken into account.

July 9. Receives cable from Mr. Deakin inviting him to report on Australian Army; accepts invitation.

Aug. 7. Announcement in *The Times* that he has been appointed High Commissioner and Field-Marshal Commanding-in-Chief in the Mediterranean as successor to the Duke of Connaught.¹

Aug. 20. Farewell speech at the United Service Club.

Lord Minto, in proposing Lord Kitchener's health at the United Service Club Dinner, says—

“It is not merely upon Lord Kitchener's great military achievements that I should wish to dwell to-night. In his departure from amongst us, the Government of India, and I know that I am voicing the feelings of my colleagues, are losing the services not only of an illustrious Commander-in-Chief, but of a far-seeing and sagacious statesman, whilst the Viceroy will miss the loyal support upon which in times that have certainly not been without

¹ The appointment had not, however, been definitely made. See Parliamentary Debates, April 28, 1910, p. 652.

their difficulties, he has known he could always steadfastly rely. Ladies and gentlemen, as your spokesman this evening, I know I may also say that outside the bureaucratic atmosphere of official life, there is a common community of friends to whom the loss will be greater still—friends who have learned to dissociate the characteristics of the stern soldier from the refined taste which has laid out the gardens of Wildflower Hall, and has so artistically decorated the ever-hospitable walls of Snowdon.”¹

Kitchener replies—

“It has not fallen to my lot, as it has to that of many of my distinguished predecessors to include within my period of command the conduct of any great campaign. . . . Perhaps you will expect me to say that I regret this. . . . Indeed, my feeling on that subject is the very reverse. It is well that the younger officers should long for war, that they should burn to show their zeal and their devotion in the fiery test of battle. But it would not be well that the Commander-in-Chief, who, sitting as he does on the Viceroy’s Council, takes his part in shaping the destiny of the Indian

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, August 27, 1909.

Empire, should share or allow himself to be swayed by any such consideration. He must know and feel the truth that for this, as for every nation, peace is the greatest of all blessings—so long as it is peace with honour. . . . I know that His Excellency the Viceroy will endorse my claim that my voice in his Council has ever been for peace : that I have striven after readiness for war will not, I think, be questioned. . . . I also wish to thank the officers of the Postal and Telegraph Departments, and the staffs of all the railways in India, for the courtesy and attention which have done so much to lessen the tedium of the 65,000 miles of travel which my tours of inspection in India have involved. . . . Gentlemen, I most sincerely regret that the time has come for me to leave this vast and wonderful country, with its teeming millions and its many unsolved problems.”¹

Aug. 31. Speech at Masonic Banquet.

“In this country, brethren, we have a vast field for the development of the craft, and of thus

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, August 27, 1909.

drawing together different classes, creeds, and nationalities into the one harmonious embrace of our masonic brotherhood. . . . I fully agreed with Worshipful Brother Grey that my work as District Grand Master must be judged by results. . . . It is a matter of deep regret to me that this is the last time I shall be with you as your District Grand Master, and that I must now wish you good-bye and all prosperity in the future.”¹

Sept. Issues his farewell order to the Army of India.

“Steady persistence will be needed to maintain even the present standard of efficiency, while that higher ideal which has not yet been reached can be attained only by continued effort. Continuity is indeed the key-word of this my last message to the Army in India—continuity as regards the end aimed at, the means by which that end is sought, and the efforts without which nothing worth the doing can ever be accomplished. . . . One of my aims throughout my tenure of command has been the devolution

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, September 3, 1909.

of power downward throughout all ranks of officers, with a view to encouraging that personal initiative and readiness to accept responsibility which are so invaluable in war, but which cannot then be looked for unless they have been made habitual by constant exercise in peace. The response has been encouraging, but seven years is all too short a period for the formation of a mental habit throughout the whole of a great service. I hope and believe that in time my object will be fully attained. I specially commend the British troops in this country for the wholehearted support they have given me in my efforts to increase their physical efficiency, and to reduce preventable disease. . . . I make it my request to them that they will permit no falling back in these matters. . . . I bid farewell to the Army in India, both British and Indian, with regret but with full confidence in its future." ¹

Sept. 6. Leaves Simla.

Sept. 9. Lays down command of the Indian Army.

¹ *Pioneer Mail*, September 17, 1909.

- Sept.* 10. At Poona.
Sept. 12. Embarks at Tuticorin for Ceylon
Sept. 13. At Colombo.
Sept. 20. At Singapore.
Sept. 24. At Saigon (French Cochin-China)
Sept. 27. At Hong-Kong.
Sept. 29. At Canton.
Sept. 30. Leaves Hong-Kong for Shanghai

Oct. 3. At Shanghai.

“ Lord Kitchener devoted Tuesday morning [October 5] to exploring the Native City, visiting several curio shops.”¹

- Oct.* 6. Leaves for Nanking.
Oct. 12. At Peking.
Oct. 16. Visits Winter Palace.
Oct. 17. Visits Summer Palace.
Oct. 18. Received by the Chinese Regent.
Oct. 20. Inspects Chinese Imperial Guard.

Oct. 21. Leaves Peking for tour (personally conducted by a Japanese officer) over the battlefields of the Russo-Japanese War.

¹ *North China Herald*, October 9, 1909.

Oct. 23. Dinner in his honour at Military Club, Port Arthur.

“Admiral Tomioka . . . speaking in English, said that . . . he could not help admiring such a distinguished guest as one of the type of Japanese *bushido*. . . . In reply Lord Kitchener remarked that . . . he was confident that [the Anglo-Japanese Alliance] would be long maintained.”¹

Oct. 24. Leaves Port Arthur.

Oct. 25. Inspects battlefield of Liaoyang.

Oct. 27. At Mukden; sends to the Mikado telegram of condolence on assassination of Prince Ito.

Oct. 29. Arrives at Seoul (Corea). Crosses to Japan.

Nov. 2. At Tokyo.

“The train carrying the distinguished visitor and party arrived at Shimbashi Station at 2.10 p.m. Troops were drawn up in lines on both sides of the route from the station

¹ *The Japan Chronicle* (weekly edition), November 4, 1909.

to the Shiba Palace, while a squadron of cavalry was stationed at the entrance of the Shiba Palace. Waiting at the station to welcome Lord Kitchener were Marshal Prince Oyama ; General Viscount Terauchi, Minister of War ; Admiral Baron Saito, Minister of the Navy ; General Viscount Oku, Chief of the General Army Staff ; General Viscount Oshima, Superintendent-General of Army Training ; General Viscount Hasegawa, and the military attachés in foreign Embassies and Legations in Tokyo. On leaving the train Lord Kitchener shook hands with Marshal Prince Oyama and General Viscount Terauchi, Minister of War. Marshal Prince Oyama then introduced the other officers to the distinguished visitor. At this moment a salute of nineteen guns was fired in Hibiya Park by the field artillery. On the conclusion of the introductions and greetings Lord Kitchener walked along the platform and, accompanied by Adjutant Fitzgerald and Major-General Sir H. Rawlinson entered a carriage sent from the Imperial Household and drove to the Shiba Palace, which had been placed at his disposal during his stay. The carriage was escorted by troops of cavalry, and was greeted with enthusiastic cheers by the citizens who crowded the route." ¹

¹ *Japan Chronicle* (Weekly Edition), November, 18, 1904

Nov. 5. Leaves Tokyo to witness Japanese manœuvres.

Nov. 10. With the Mikado reviews Northern and Southern armies.

Nov. 11. Returns to Tokyo.

Nov. 13. Inspects the chrysanthemums at Akasaka Palace.

Nov. 16. Leaves Tokyo for Kyoto.

Nov. 18. At Osaka.

Nov. 19. At Kobe; embarks for Shanghai.

Nov. 26. At Hong-Kong.

Dec. 2. At Singapore *en route* for Java; leaves on steamer *De Carpentier*.¹

Dec. 6. Lands at Batavia and tours through Java.

Dec. 11. Embarks at Sourabaya on the *Van Outhoorn* (registered tonnage 953), bound for Australia.

Dec. 13. The first of Mr. Robert Blatchford's articles warning the British public of the German Peril appears in the *Daily Mail*.

¹ 1212 tons, built in 1890.

"I write these articles because I believe that Germany is deliberately preparing to destroy the British Empire, and because I know that we are not able or ready to defend ourselves against a sudden and formidable attack (Mr. Blatchford).¹

Dec. 16.

"*Van Outhoorn* grounded near the Island of Wetter, about December 16, but was refloated 12 hours later undamaged."²

Dec. 17. The British Museum receives a copy of "Europe's Optical Illusion," by "Norman Angell."

(1) "The 3 per cents. of powerless Belgium are quoted at 96, and the 3 per

¹ *Daily Mail*, December 13, 1909. Mr. Blatchford had previously in the *Clarion* warned the public of the German Peril. Lord Northcliffe and his colleagues had already for years been calling attention to the danger from Germany in the *Daily Mail* and other papers. For instance, in the nineties of the last century, G. W. Steevens had contributed to the *Daily Mail* a series of articles which had done much to enlighten the British public on the psychology of the German people.

² *Lloyd's Weekly Shipping Index*, February 3, 1910.

cents. of powerful Germany at 82. . . . All of which carries with it the paradox that the more a nation's wealth is protected, the less secure does it become" (pp. 32-3).

(2) "If the traders of little nations can snap their fingers at the great war lords, why do British traders need 'Dreadnoughts'?" (p. 73).

(3) "The best service the statesman can do for the moral well-being of his people is to ensure their material well-being" (p. 103).¹

Dec. 18.

"We are not jingoes, but we do believe in the reality of the German Peril, and we think the *Daily Mail* is rendering good service to the nation by opening its columns to the eloquent warnings of Mr. Blatchford."²

Dec. 21. Kitchener, in *Van Outhoorn*, arrives at Port Darwin (Australia), and is taken on board H.M.S. *Encounter*.

¹ "Europe's Optical Illusion," from which the above extracts are taken, was registered at Stationers' Hall on November 12, 1909.

² *John Bull*, December 18, 1909. Mr. Bottomley, also, had previously warned the British of Germany's intentions.

“PORT DARWIN, *Wednesday*.

The keenest interest was manifested ever amongst the Asiatic population, and by 5 p.m. the railway pier was crowded with some four hundred people, all anxiously intent upon seeing with their own eyes the distinguished soldier whose name has become a household word, as associated with stirring scenes in the military history of the Empire. About 5.30 p.m. a launch was seen leaving the warship and heading for the jetty. The cosmopolitan crowd on the jetty, including many ladies and representatives of many different races, anxiously endeavoured to get as near the steps leading from the landing-stage as possible. An engine and railway-carriage were waiting near by. The launch quickly covered the intervening distance between the warship, and in a minute Lord Kitchener, a mild-looking gentleman, as compared with the ferocious portraits, and clad in white, appeared at the top of the steps. . . . He is blue-eyed, rather florid complexion, and somewhat slight in figure, but upright and soldierly. . . .

In an interview with Captain Fitzgerald your correspondent learns that after leaving Singapore in the French steamer *De Carpentier* Lord Kitchener was the guest of the Commander-in-Chief at Batavia for one day. He then proceeded to Buitenzorg as guest of the Governor-General, and spent several days

very pleasantly touring the island's magnificent scenery, embarking at Sourabaya on the *Van Outhoorn* on the 11th. They had quite an uneventful voyage through interesting islands, Lord Kitchener landing only at the old Dutch port of Koepang, and at the Portuguese port of Timor, Dilli, where there was no demonstration, officials at those places being probably unaware of his presence on board. After leaving Dilli, and approaching the Island of Wetter, the Dutch steamer unfortunately got aground shortly before daylight, and remained aground for twelve hours. Fearing she might not get off, a boat was dispatched to the nearest island where there is a cable station, with a message detailing the accident, and asking that the *Encounter* be sent for Lord Kitchener. The steamer got off on the succeeding tide. This boat had not returned. Lord Kitchener is well, and is very pleased with what little he has seen here. He is looking forward with keen interest to his Australian tour.

H.M.S. *Encounter*, with Lord Kitchener and party on board, sailed at 6 a.m. to-day for Thursday Island."¹

Dec. 22. Mr. Blatchford in the *Daily Mail* suggests that a new army, to be raised in view of the probable Anglo-German War, should be organized by Kitchener.

¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, December 23, 1909. The *De Carpentier* was a Dutch steamer.

“ This army should be put under the direction of one man, and *the* man is Lord Kitchener. To him should be left also the arrangement of the plans of organization and mobilization. That is what Lord Kitchener was born for, and it would be a pity to waste him ” (Mr. Blatchford).¹

Dec. 25. Kitchener arrives at Thursday Island, Torres Straits.

Dec. 30. At Townsville, Queensland.

¹ *Daily Mail*, December 22, 1909.

CHAPTER VIII

Arrives in Australia and inspects Australian forces—Memorandum on defence of Australia and adequate training of Citizen Army—Visits New Zealand and advises its Government—Crosses the Pacific and the United States—Returns to England—Meets Kaiser Wilhelm II—Refuses to become Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean—On town planning—Revisits Egypt and the Soudan—Tour in British East Africa—Address to Boy Scouts—Again meets the Kaiser—"Kitchener Wheat"—Director of London, Chatham, and Dover Railway—Commands troops at the Coronation of George V—The Agadir incident.

1910, *Jan.* 1. Kitchener arrives at Brisbane.

"It was New Year's Day, and the crowds were large and very enthusiastic."¹

Jan. 3. Witnesses manœuvres of Queensland troops.

¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 3, 1910.

Jan. 5. At Sydney ; banquet in his honour given by the Lord Mayor ; speech of Mr Cook, M.P., Minister of Defence.

“ Where could they go to get a man so up to date as he [Kitchener], one who had performed the difficult and colossal task that had been committed to his care? In many lands, in the most difficult situations, he had blazed many a track along which the people concerned were marching to-day to prosperity to safety, to security, and the Government felt it could not do better than to go to this same source that had been placed so freely at its disposal, so readily and promptly, for the purpose of formulating a scheme of defence which would enable us to hold this continent for ourselves, and to hold it for the Empire. That was the simple reason of Lord Kitchener's visit.”¹

Jan. 6. Kitchener inspects Liverpool Camp

Jan. 7. At manœuvres.

Jan. 8. Meets veterans who had fought in South Africa and in earlier wars.

“ Lord Kitchener several times put his hand on the shoulder of an old soldier and talked to him like an old friend.”²

¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 6, 1910.

² *Ibid.*, January 10, 1910.

Examines defences of Port Jackson.

Speaks at State Parliament-House.

“The country . . . should support its defenders by taking a great pride in them and by insisting upon the abolition of all that savours of sham and uselessness.”¹

Jan. 10. At Bathurst; unveils memorial to soldiers who fell in South African War.

“Your young manhood demanded that they should be allowed to show that they were worthy sons of their Motherland, and were prepared to uphold the honour of our arms. In doing this they were only carrying out the fundamental principle that, united, the British race is ready to bear any strain and capable to stand up against any foe.”²

Jan. 11. At Melbourne; speaks at dinner given in his honour.

“In no other country in the world, as far as I know, do the young men show such natural

¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 10, 1910.

² *Ibid.*, January 11, 1910.

military qualifications on which to base their military career. A great deal of the training that would, in ordinary course, have to be supplied to obtain an efficient soldier is already part of the daily life of many of your lads ; and the work done in the cadet corps is a most excellent preparation for the more serious adult training which will eventually turn out your citizen soldiers. I do not wish on this occasion before my inspection is complete, or my ideas in any way crystallized, to say anything definite about the organization I would propose ; but I think I may mention shortly a few points that I consider are of importance. In the first place, I think you should carefully preserve those excellent national characteristics of young Australia which I hope will always remain a feature in the military life of your young men. I have heard it mentioned that discipline may be wanting, but I do not think you need fear this amongst thoroughly-trained Australian troops. They may have their own special methods and manner of expressing themselves but, gentlemen, discipline does not depend upon any shibboleth of that sort. Discipline is undoubtedly a most essential and most important

part of all military life, and it is absolutely necessary for success in war. I feel sure every true Australian soldier will know and realize that unhesitating, uncritical, willing obedience to all lawful authority does not entail servility to any individual. It is, to my mind, essential that you should establish a high-class primary military educational system, in order that your officers, particularly the instructional officers, should be thoroughly grounded in their profession, so as to be able to teach both officers and men. With the authority of complete military knowledge,¹ I cannot help feeling strongly that no second-rate military standard in this country will appeal with any permanence to the people who under the Bill will take part in your military development. You may get on for a time, but unless you place your ideal of the military value of the national forces high you will find that the day will come when the security of this country will have degenerated to a very low ebb. Soldiers must take a pride in their efficiency and respect themselves as

¹ The Prime Minister, Mr. Deakin, had previously spoken of the confidence he felt in "Lord Kitchener's complete knowledge."

a fighting force, thoroughly educated, trained and equipped, and ready for the field. There is no reason, as far as I can see, why the national forces of Australia should not make their standard of efficiency on a par with, if not higher than, those of the military Powers in Europe or elsewhere.”¹

Jan. 14-15. Witnesses manœuvres.

Jan. 19. Leaves Melbourne for Adelaide.

Jan. 20. Spends day at Adelaide.

Jan. 24. Lands at Fremantle (Western Australia).

Jan. 25. Speaks at Perth.

“It seems to me, gentlemen, that one of the great needs of Australia is systematic, statesmanlike, and comprehensive railway extension. Trunk lines opening up communication and developing the fertile districts in the interior of this vast country would undoubtedly stimulate more than anything else the growth of your population, as well as fostering trade and considerably increasing your means of defence

¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 12, 1910.

At present, Australia's expenditure on railway construction appears to be often spasmodic, as well as unduly influenced by purely local conditions." ¹

Jan. 27. Leaves Perth for Albany.

"The Premier [of West Australia] . . . said that Lord Kitchener was of opinion that there should be a station for receiving Marconigrams in the State somewhere near Cape Leeuwin for choice." ²

Feb. 2. Kitchener at Adelaide inspecting troops ; leaves for Melbourne.

Feb. 4. Sails for Tasmania.

Feb. 5. At Hobart.

Feb. 6. Inspects Fort Nelson.

Feb. 7. Reviews Tasmanian troops.

Feb. 8. Embarks at Launceston for Melbourne.

Feb. 13. On H.M.S. *Encounter* sails for New Zealand.

¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, January 26, 1910.

² *Ibid.*, January 31, 1910.

Feb. 14. Mr. Deakin in a speech at Sydney says—

“Lord Kitchener’s report to the Commonwealth Government will be available in the course of a few days. The Government has appealed to Cæsar, and we shall be prepared to defer to Cæsar’s judgement.”¹

Feb. 18. Kitchener’s report published.

MEMORANDUM ON DEFENCE OF AUSTRALIA.²

1. “In compliance with the invitation of the Commonwealth Government to visit and inspect the existing military forces and system in Australia, and subsequently to give them the benefit of my experience and advice regarding the development of their latest scheme of defence, I reached Port Darwin on the 21st December, and have since visited military camps in every State” (p. 85).

2. “The Australian citizen soldier experiences much of military value in the everyday

¹ *Sydney Morning Herald*, February 15, 1910.

² Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary Paper General Session, 1910, vol. ii. pp. 83–104. The numbers given to the extracts from the Memorandum are ours.

conditions of his civil life. He is generally a good rider, active, lithe, and intelligent" (p. 97).

3. "The training I saw in the camps indicated that there was a distinct tendency to go too fast, and to neglect essential preliminaries of training for more advanced studies which the troops engaged were not capable of carrying out properly" (p. 85).

4. "The first and imperative principle for the enrolment and maintenance of . . . an efficient citizen force is that the nation, as a whole, should take a pride in its defenders, insist upon the organization being real and designed for war purposes only, and provide the means for properly educating, training, and equipping their officers and men. Unless these requirements be met, no military system can be devised which will be other than an illusion and a source of waste of public funds" (p. 89).

5. "Success in any technical career can only be achieved after a thorough elementary ground-

ing, and this is, perhaps, more marked in the military than in any other profession " (p. 85)

6. " In these days excellent fighting material and the greatest zeal, though indispensable adjuncts, are not of themselves sufficient to enable a force to take the field against thoroughly trained regular troops with any chance of success " (p. 85).

7. " The conduct of a great war depends upon the calculated and proper combination of naval, military, and diplomatic forces " (p. 87)

8. " Soldiers, to be efficient, should be exercised in camp annually, otherwise the men lose the incentive to home training, the habit of working in units, of moving and living in numbers, and of ready obedience to orders (p. 88).

9. " No social considerations, no influence nothing but efficiency should be allowed to affect the selection and promotion of these officers.¹ Their work should be judged by results alone " (p. 93).

¹ The "area officers," who, under Lord Kitchener's scheme, were to be "the keystone of the Citizen Force

10. "Any cadet unlikely to make an efficient officer, or lacking in the personality necessary to influence and command men, should be removed" (p. 95).

11. "In the United States of America the Military College of West Point sets an example of a severe and thoroughly military training imposed by a Democratic Government" (p. 94).

12. "A National Force maintained at a high standard of efficiency can only be produced by the work of years. . . . If plans and essential preparations have been deferred until an emergency arises, it will then be found too late to act, because the strain of passing from peace to war will entirely absorb the energies of all engaged, even when every possible contingency has been foreseen" (p. 86).

Feb. 17. Arrives at The Bluff, New Zealand (South Island).

Travels by train to Dunedin.

At Dunedin ; meets his sister, Mrs. Parker.

“ It is a great pleasure to me, Mr. Mayor to be able to pay a visit to your prosperous city. I feel I am not a stranger coming amongst you, for my father owned property in the neighbourhood, and my brother worked amongst you in this locality for some years. I have had, too, the great pleasure of meeting my sister here.” ¹

Feb. 18. Inspects defence works at Tairāhema Heads and reviews troops, veterans, school cadets, and boy scouts.

Feb. 21. At Christchurch ; replies to the Mayor's speech.

“ Lord Kitchener, whose voice carried over a remarkably large area, made the following reply : ‘ It will be a source of the utmost gratification to me in after years if . . . I can be associated with a measure that will enable the splendid young manhood . . . of New Zealand to render themselves thoroughly efficient for the defence of their country, and able to take their share in the maintenance and honour

¹ To the Mayor of Dunedin. *New Zealand Times* February 18, 1910.

and solidarity of the grand old Empire to which we all belong.' " ¹

Feb. 22. Inspects harbour defences of Port Lyttelton, and is reported to have said of Fort Jervois, "This fort is obsolete. It must have been built from a text-book." ²

Feb. 23. Reviews the Canterbury Force.

Feb. 24. Arrives at Wellington City (North Island).

"To-day will be remembered as a history-making day not only in the City of Wellington, but throughout the Dominion of New Zealand, for the reason that we have in our midst a distinguished soldier who has no one to thank but himself for the pre-eminent position he occupies, not only in the British Army, but in the eyes of the world. . . . He is recognized now as the first in his profession in the world. . . . New Zealand welcomes him as the greatest scientific soldier of the age" (Sir Joseph Ward, Premier of New Zealand).³

Kitchener replies to address of welcome.

¹ *New Zealand Times*, February 22, 1910.

² *Ibid.*, February 24, 1910.

³ *Ibid.*, February 25, 1910.

“It seems to me only appropriate that a city named after the most illustrious Field-Marshal our country has ever produced should take the lead in all that pertains to military efficiency.”¹

Feb. 25. In pouring rain reviews volunteers and cadets.

Feb. 26. Present at manœuvres at Johnsonville; receives deputation of Maoris.

“The Hon. A. T. Ngata . . . proceeded to read the address in English. ‘No, I’d like to have the Maori. I can read the English for myself,’ interrupted Lord Kitchener.”²

Feb. 28. Arrives at Auckland.

March 1. Inspects defences of Auckland Harbour.

“He concentrated his attention upon the strategical positions of the fortress, and immediately seized upon the importance of Burton

¹ *New Zealand Times*, February 25, 1910.

² *Ibid.*, February 28, 1910. The address commenced “Welcome! Welcome! Welcome! Brave one, son of the Great God of War, Tutenganahau.”

Point, declaring: 'That is the place which must be fortified.'"¹

March 2. At manœuvres.

Letter to Sir Joseph Ward with report on the defence of New Zealand.

"It appears to me that for your land forces New Zealand and Australia should adopt homogeneous military systems, in order to be able to efficiently support one another in the event of national danger. . . . At the risk of repetition I wish again to emphasize the importance of placing the ideal of your defence on as high a standard of efficiency as possible, in order that the men serving, as well as the public, may have a just pride in the fighting value of the force, and so insist upon the observance of the important principle that defence should be outside party politics, and not used by individuals for political purposes."²

March 12. At Napier.

¹ *New Zealand Times*, March 4, 1910.

² *Ibid.*, March 10, 1910.

March 16. Leaves New Zealand on the *Mokoia*.

“Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener, who has been motoring through the North Island arrived in Wellington yesterday. . . . His Lordship . . . took his departure at 3 p.m. by the *Mokoia* for Rarotonga and Tahiti. . . . Lord Kitchener will tranship to the *Mariposa* at Papeete for San Francisco.”

March 25. At Papeete, Tahiti.

March 26. Sails on the *Mariposa* for San Francisco.

April 7. Lands at San Francisco.

April 8. Views harbour defences of the city.

“On arriving at Howard Street pier No. 1 General Kitchener and General Barry [general in the U.S.A.’s Army] took seats in an automobile and were taken to the Palace Hotel where his Lordship declined all offers of interviews by the newspaper representatives

After a rest of a half-hour General Kitchener took an automobile ride through the city. He left on last evening's train for a trip in the Yosemite Valley."¹

April 14. At Chicago.

"Welcomed by throngs through which he could hardly force his way, Viscount Kitchener . . . reached here to-day. Although he was in Chicago just an hour and a half, Lord Kitchener found time to discuss Canada's military establishment and the outlook for international peace. 'I see no aggressiveness,' [he said], 'in the future so far as Canada is concerned. . . .' Asked what he considered the chief factor tending to international peace, Lord Kitchener replied: 'Food. I think food is one of the first. The Panama Canal has come into the list now as a new factor also.'"²

April 15. At New York.

April 16. Visits Military College at West Point.

¹ *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 9, 1910.

² *New York Herald*, April 15, 1910. In the *Chicago Daily Tribune* of April 15, 1910, there is an amusing report of his conversation with a lady interviewer

“ Lord Kitchener visited West Point to-day but in deference to his known dislike for demonstration there was no escort or booming of salutes.” ¹

April 18. Dinner in his honour given by The Pilgrims. In proposing his health Mr Joseph H. Choate, formerly U.S.A.'s ambassador in London, says that Kitchener is “ the greatest living soldier in active service.” ²

April 20. Embarks on *Oceanic* for England.

“ I have found the city [New York] to be wonderful and delightful. So many things have impressed me that I hardly know which ones to mention. I think, however, I am perfectly safe in saying that New York should be proud of her beautiful women.” ³

April 26. Arrives at Plymouth.

April 28. Audience with King Edward VII

May 6. Death of King Edward VII.

¹ *New York Herald*, April 17, 1910.

² *Ibid.*, April 19, 1910.

³ Report of interview. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1910.

May 21. Kitchener meets Kaiser Wilhelm II.

June 13.

"To my great regret, Lord Kitchener has informed me that he does not now desire to take up his appointment to the Mediterranean Command. . . . Lord Kitchener's services are a great national asset. I am glad to say that as a Field-Marshal he remains on the active list" (Mr. Haldane).¹

June 17. Arrives at Killarney after motoring through Kerry highlands.

July 10. Embarks at Falmouth on the *Drake* to witness naval operations.

July 27. At Frensham and Aldershot watching manœuvres of 2nd Division.

July 28. At Aldershot observing manœuvres of 1st Division.

Oct. 3. Speech at Middlesex Hospital.

¹ Parliamentary Debates, 1910, vol. xvii. p. 1054. The columns, not the pages in the volumes of the Parliamentary Debates (formerly Hansard) series are numbered, but as "c." is not a common abbreviation for "column," we shall, as here, always use "p." to indicate the column in the volume of the Parliamentary Debates, e.g. "p. 1054" = "column 1054."

“I am sorry to think that England lag behind other nations in the struggle for the prevention of disease by means of improved treatment and sanitary methods; but this conclusion forces itself upon me when I see what America has achieved, not only generally but even in so apparently hopeless an area as the Isthmus of Panama.”¹

Oct. 14. Speech at Town Planning Conference.

“The old Khartoum was an African pest house, in which every tropical disease thrived and was rampant: now malaria is almost unknown, though mosquito curtains are not in use; and last year there were only eleven cases of malaria in a town of fifty thousand inhabitants. I do not think that such results have been achieved in any other British dependency, and this excellent work in Khartoum does not stand alone in the Sudan where sanitary conditions generally prevail and demonstrate to the thorough efficiency of the administration of the country. I can

¹ *The Times*, October 4, 1910.

of course, only claim to have sketched out the rough outlines of this scheme [for the reconstruction of Khartoum on sanitary lines]. The work itself has been carried into effect and adapted to varying conditions by my successor, Sir Reginald Wingate." ¹

Oct. 17. Requested to become a member of Committee of Imperial Defence.

Nov. 5. Leaves London for Paris.

Nov. 13. At Rome ; inspects excavations in the Forum ; leaves (November 15) for Venice.

Nov. 27. At Constantinople.

Dec. 6. At Cairo.

Dec. 19. Visits Khartoum Cathedral.

1911, *Feb. 28.* Leaves Entebbe for Mombasa via Nairobi, having shot an elephant in the Soudan and a white rhinoceros in the Lado Enclave.

March 2. At Nairobi.

March 7. Leaves Mombasa for England.

March 9. Announcement that he has been

¹ *The Times*, October 15, 1910.

appointed to command troops at Coronation of King George V and Queen Mary.

March 17. At Suez on board *Feldmarschall*

March 24. At Venice.

March 26. The Kaiser calls on Lady Layard, "at whose residence here (Venice) Lord Kitchener is now staying."¹

April 2. Arrives at Dover.

April 11. Received in audience by King George V.

Purchases Broome Park—"an early seventeenth-century mansion and 550 acres between Canterbury and Folkestone."²

April 18. Speech to the Leicestershire Boy Scouts.

"In addressing a few words to you on this occasion it is hardly necessary for me to say what a great pleasure it is to meet you all, not only as an officer interested in your work, but also as President of the North London Scouts. What appeals to me, and I am sure

¹ *The Times*, March 27, 1911. ² *Ibid.*, April 15, 1911.

appeals equally to all present, is that we have here a large number of England's boys, soon to become England's men, hard at work training themselves to do something for the good of their country, for the good of the nation, and for the good of themselves. The more I know of the Scouts movement the more admirable I think it is, and the more fully persuaded I am that it should appeal strongly to every father and mother who desire to bring up their sons well. It breaks down class prejudice, promotes comradeship, discipline, resourcefulness, self-reliance, and sympathy. Its ideals are the highest—Christianity and patriotism. Later, when these scouts are grown up, what prouder title can they each aspire to than this, to be known as true men and pure patriots? And that is what they are all now learning to become. You, Scoutmasters, who have gone through the hard work of making this movement so successful, ought to be well pleased with the results of your labours when you see these smart lads around you and consider their ever-increasing numbers and their improved moral, mental, and physical condition. You, Scouts, I feel sure already

realize the benefits you have received by being members of this National Association. There is one thought I would like to impress upon you. 'Once a Scout, always a Scout. You will find the Scout law and Scout training very useful throughout life, so never allow scouting to be looked upon as a game that is over. Keep it going as long as you are alive. As boy and as man help by all the means that lie in your power, and when we have a million men and boys (as I hope we shall have) imbued with the spirit of Scouts, our nation may well be proud of its manhood.' ¹

April 26. Takes his seat in House of Lords.

Joins committee of Education Fund for Europeans and Eurasians in India.

May 16. Converses with Kaiser Wilhelm I at Lady Londesborough's Garden Party at St. Dunstan's Lodge, Regent's Park.

May 18.

"The German Emperor honoured Lord

¹ *Leicester Journal*, April 21, 1911.

Haldane with his presence at luncheon at 28 Queen Anne's Gate, Westminster. The luncheon was served at a table facing St. James's Park, and ornamented with bunches of cornflowers.

The following guests were invited to meet the Emperor—

Count Metternich, General von Plessen, Admiral von Müller, Major von Dommes, Major Freiherr von Holzing-Berstett, Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener, Lord Morley of Blackburn, Lord Curzon, Sir Frank Lascelles, General Sir William Nicholson, General Sir John French, General Sir Ian Hamilton, Admiral of the Fleet Sir Arthur Wilson, Lord Justice Fletcher Moulton, Mr. Edmund Gosse, Mr. Sargent, R.A., Mr. J. A. Spender, Lieutenant-General Sir R. Baden-Powell, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and Colonel Sir Henry Legge.”¹

Kitchener takes up land for the cultivation of Ceara rubber at Muhoroni, situated near the Uganda railway and distant about 550 miles from Mombasa and 38 miles from the Victoria Nyanza.

June 1. Speaks at Ipswich at Suffolk Agricultural Show.

¹ *The Times*, May 19, 1911.

“Several years ago, whilst I was in India some of my previous Boer opponents, who have since become warm friends, wrote to me stating that their wheat in South Africa was suffering greatly from ‘rust,’ and, having heard that Thibetan wheat possessed certain peculiar properties which rendered it immune from this disease, asked me if I could assist them by obtaining a sample of some grown in that country. During the expedition to Thibet, which took place whilst I was in command, I was able to do this, and sent them some dozen sacks. These they gratefully acknowledged, and I heard nothing more on the subject. Last March, when I was at Nairobi, in East Africa, which is a grand country, with a magnificent climate, now entering the number of the wheat-exporting countries of the world, I naturally visited the Government agricultural farm, and was there shown a small plot of growing corn, and told that this was ‘Kitchener wheat,’ and that it possessed the satisfactory peculiarity of being unaffected by ‘rust’ and was being successfully used to blend with other samples of wheat in East Africa. It transpired that this wheat

had been procured from South Africa some 2,000 miles away, and was a product of blending by my Boer friends of the wheat I had sent them with their own wheat, to which without my knowledge they had given my name. So as my grandfather's name has been handed down in connection with barley,¹ mine is now attached to a special kind of wheat."²

Appointed Director of London, Chatham, and Dover Railway.

June 22. Commands troops at Coronation of King George V.

"Lord Kitchener's Coronation orders . . . are a monumental piece of Staff work, which in itself shows the high state of efficiency the Staff of the Army has reached of recent years. It is a weighty volume of 212 pages, and apparently covers every detail which connects the Army with the Coronation ceremonies."³

July 1. The *Panther*, dispatched by German Government, at Agadir, and Moroccan question reopened by Germany.⁴

¹ "Chevallier barley." ² *The Times*, June 2, 1911.

³ Ibid., June 22, 1911.

⁴ The Germano-Moroccan question, opened by Kaiser

July 6. Speech of Kitchener at Glasgow.

“The greatest reward that a man could look

Wilhelm II's journey to Tangier in 1905, and temporarily settled in 1906 at the Algeiras Conference, was now reopened. Germany—obviously to test the strength of the Entente Cordiale—proposed to negotiate with France alone. This cool proposal, which ignored Great Britain's vital interests in Morocco, was resented by the British Government. On July 21, 1911, Mr. Lloyd George, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a speech dealing with other matters, said: “If a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected [a German naval base in Morocco would have been a threat to our communications with the Suez Canal and Cape Town] as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of nations, then I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure. National honour is no party question” (*The Times*, July 22, 1911).

After it had seemed impossible that a European war could be avoided, Germany drew back. On November 4, 1911, a Treaty between France and Germany (Great Britain was not a party) was signed. Under the Treaty France received a free hand in Morocco, but ceded to Germany a part of the French Congo. At the end of the year General von Bernhardi's “Germany and the Next War” was published. “We need not,” said the General in his Epilogue, “regard this convention [the Treaty of

for for any service he had been able to perform was the approbation of his countrymen." ¹

July 12. Returns from Ireland; visits Foreign Office.

November 4, 1911] as definitive. It is as liable to revision as the Algeciras Treaty, and indeed offers, in this respect, the advantage that it creates new opportunities of friction with France" ["Germany and the Next War," translated by Allen H. Powles (Edward Arnold), Popular Edition, p. 285]. Elsewhere (in the Epilogue, p. 283) Bernhardt says: "it was known that not merely an *entente cordiale*, but a real offensive and defensive alliance, aimed at us, exists between France and England," and that "the German Government, from important reasons which cannot be discussed, have considered it expedient to avoid, under present conditions, a collision with England or France at any cost."

¹ *The Times*, July 7, 1911.

CHAPTER IX

Appointed British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt—His views on an Anglo-German War—Arrives in Egypt—Journey to Soudan—Meets Prince Louis of Battenberg, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Asquith, and Sir Ian Hamilton at Malta—Returns to England in June 1911—Extracts from his reports on Egypt and the Soudan: Party government and national progress, Legislative assemblies and “the hard-working, unheard masses of the people,” cotton growing, education, etc.—The Serajevo crimes—Ultimatum to Serbia—Great War breaks out—Kitchener, at Dover *en route* for Egypt is recalled.

1911, *July* 16. Kitchener appointed British Agent and Consul-General at Cairo.

“In 1911 many secret documents were composed, and many military publicists took pains to prove, beyond all reasonable doubt, that in a war between France and Germany the decisive battles would be fought within the first fortnight of the outbreak of hostilities, and that the presence of our six Divisions in the field

at the crucial point, and at the earliest possible moment, was the essential element of success.

In the autumn of that year, Lord K. scouted this notion as puerile, and wrote to me, what he repeated with emphasis in 1914, that the war would be ended and victory achieved by the 'last million' of men that Great Britain could throw into the scale. This was his solvent for the desperate problem with which Europe was faced" (Lord Esher).¹

Sept. 16. Kitchener sails from England *viâ* Gibraltar and Malta for Egypt.

Sept. 28. Lands at Alexandria.

Sept. 29. Italo-Turkish War breaks out; Italians prepare to invade Tripoli.

"Almost simultaneously with my arrival in Egypt, the whole political situation in the Near East was rudely disturbed by the totally unexpected action of Italy in declaring war against the Turkish Empire and proceeding to invade Tripoli and Cyrenaica. It was not surprising, in view of the geographical proximity to Egypt of these two districts, the close

¹ *National Review*, July 1916, p. 686.

relationship existing between the people of Benghazi and the Egyptian Arabs, and the bonds of common religion and ties of trade and commerce, that an extremely warm feeling of sympathy should have been aroused in this country for the Mohammedan combatants. The excitement caused by the war was widespread and deep, but notwithstanding the mischievous efforts of some of the more irresponsible native newspapers, the people of Egypt have displayed the most praiseworthy self-restraint, and have devoted themselves to quite justifiable and generous efforts to relieve the distress and the suffering caused by the war, and to the equipment and dispatch of Red Crescent Hospitals to succour the wounded. Egypt was declared neutral, and that neutrality has been strictly maintained by Egyptians, who have thus shown an admirable devotion to duty, law, and order in spite of the intensely sympathetic and religious feelings raised by the long struggle which has been going on so close to their frontier.”¹

¹ Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 1, 1912 (Cd. 6149 pp. 1 and 2.

Nov. 20. Kitchener meets King George and Queen Mary at Port Said.

1912, *Jan.* Leaves Cairo for Port Soudan.

Feb. 8.

"Our Dover correspondent telegraphed last night—

It is reported here that Lord Haldane crossed this afternoon from Dover to Ostend *en route* for Germany.

On inquiry at the War Office last night we were informed that 'Lord Haldane has left town for a few days with his brother.'

There is reason to believe that Lord Haldane has gone to Berlin: and speculation will be rife as to the object of his visit."¹

Feb. 12.

"Lord Haldane arrived at Liverpool-street Station by the boat-train at 8 o'clock yesterday morning on his return from his visit to Berlin."²

¹ *The Times*, February 8, 1912.

² *Ibid.*, February 13, 1912. Lord Haldane, according to his own account given to an American journal, returned "uneasy." He might well have been so. For the proposals made to him by the German Chancellor, Dr. Bethmann-Hollweg, see the statement of the Foreign Office, published in *The Times* of September 1, 1915.

Feb. 19. Kitchener leaves Cairo for Khartoum to open El Obeid Railway.

Feb. 20. At Luxor.

Feb. 23. At Khartoum; replies to an address of welcome.

“Speculative advances, which, though attractive in appearance may lead to serious setbacks in the future, are to be deprecated. What the country requires is well-considered and careful development of its resources always remembering that we must wait for a further increase of population before the full expansion of the valuable and important capabilities of the country will be attained.”

Feb. 24. Witnesses sham fight on the battlefield of Omdurman.

Feb. 27. Opens El Obeid extension of Khartoum Railway.

March 14.

“Sir Edward Grey, on the 14th March 1912, gave Count Metternich the following

‘ *The Times*, February 24, 1912.

draft formula, which had been approved by the Cabinet—

England will make no unprovoked attack upon Germany, and pursue no aggressive policy towards her.

Aggression upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which England is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object.

“Count Metternich thought this formula inadequate, and suggested two alternative additional clauses—

England will therefore observe at least a benevolent neutrality should war be forced upon Germany ;

or—

England will therefore, as a matter of course, remain neutral if a war is forced upon Germany.

“This, he added, would not be binding unless our wishes were met with regard to the naval programme.”¹

¹ Foreign Office Statement, *The Times*, September 1, 1915. Sir Edward Grey refused to entertain Count Metternich's clauses. In 1870 France, through Bismarck's cunning, had appeared to “force” war upon Germany.

March 16. At Ibshan in Gharbieh Kitchener is present at commencement of new drainage works which are to lead to reclamation of nearly 130,000 acres in Lower Egypt.

March 26. *The Times* publishes long review of Von Bernhardi's "Germany and the Next War," written by Mr. J. E. Mackenzie, its correspondent at Berlin.

May. Short tour of Kitchener in the Delta and Middle Egypt.

May 26. Leaves Cairo for Alexandria and thence on cruiser *Hampshire* for Malta.

May 29. At Malta; meets Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill.

May 30. Conference with them, Sir Ian Hamilton, Prince Louis of Battenberg, and Rear-Admiral Beatty.

June 2. Sails from Malta for Egypt.

Conspiracy in Egypt to assassinate him.

June 13. Lord Haldane replaced at the War Office by Colonel Seely.

July 4. Kitchener leaves Alexandria on the *Helouan*.

July 8. At Venice.

July 10. Leaves Venice.

Spends day at Bologna.

July 12. Arrives at Dover and motors to Broome Park.

July 16. Calls on Sir E. Grey.

Sept. 13. At Balmoral Castle.

Sept. 24. At Paris.

Sept. 27. At Venice.

Sept. 28. Visits Mr. Asquith, who is staying there.

Sept. 29. Leaves on *Schleswig*.

Oct. 3. Lands at Alexandria; inspects cotton *halaka*¹ at Damanhur and arrives at Cairo.

Contributes £E.100 to Red Crescent Movement, signing his name as "Kitchener Pasha."

Oct. 8. Montenegro declares war on Turkey.

Oct. 15. Preliminaries of Peace between Italy and Turkey signed.

¹ Cotton market; see *infra*, pp. 379-80.

Oct. 17. Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece at war with Turkey; Turks defeated by Bulgarians, Serbians, and Greeks; Turkish Army in Thrace retires on Tchatalja lines, which on the west protect Constantinople.

Nov. 6. Kitchener visits the Delta; lays foundation-stone of Agricultural College and initiates scheme for distribution of reclaimed land.

Nov. 8. Greeks take Salonika.

Nov. 9 (circa).

"One of the main principles of the Gordon College is that the boys' characters have to be studied during their earlier primary education in order that they may receive definite specialized training in the various careers for which they are individually best suited, and for which they are designated at an early period in their education. This principle is undoubtedly the main cause of the success that has been achieved by the output of the college" (Kitchener).¹

¹ *The Times*, November 9, 1912.

Dec. 23. Present with Khedive at ceremony on completion of the heightening of Assuan dam.

1913, *Jan. 8.* *The Times* correspondent at Berlin reports that the *Post* (German journal) has announced on "high military authority" that a new Army Bill will be presented to the Reichstag almost immediately, and will "fill up all the gaps" which remained unfilled after the passage of the last Army Bill.¹

Jan. 10. Kitchener returns to Cairo.

Jan. 22.

"There is no longer any real doubt that increases in the German Army are in prospect."²

Jan. 24.

"The *North-German Gazette* [newspaper inspired by German Government] announces definitely to-night that a new Army Bill is in preparation."³

¹ *The Times*, January 10, 1913.

² *The Times* correspondent at Berlin. Ibid., January 23, 1913.

³ *The Times* correspondent at Berlin. Ibid., January 25, 1913.

Feb. 4. *The Times* publishes its military correspondent's review of the position of the Turks at this date in the Balkan War—

“Roughly speaking, and although precise figures are not available, we may take it that Izzet Pasha, the new Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Army, has 200,000 men at his disposal behind the Tchatalja lines, and another 50,000 in the Gallipoli Peninsula. There are probably 40,000 men left at Adrianople.”¹

Feb. 18. Article appears in *The Times* from its Military Correspondent on the coming German Army Bill.

March 2. *The Times* correspondent at Berlin telegraphs—

“The [German] Government is at last beginning to take the public into its confidence regarding the proposed increases of the German Army and the provision of money for them. It was indicated yesterday through several unofficial, but ‘well-informed’ channels, that the proposed expenditure is really to reach figures which almost everybody until yesterday regarded as incredible. The initial

¹ *The Times*, February 4, 1913.

and non-recurring expenditure is now put by all the 'well-informed' writers at about £50,000,000." ¹

March 19. Colonel Seely, M.P., Secretary of State for War, in the House of Commons introduces and explains the Army Estimates for 1913-14.

"The Army is not in possession of any large rigid dirigible balloons. . . . The main division between the Army and the Navy should be, in this matter of aerial warfare, if warfare there must be, that the Navy should take all the lighter than air and the Army should take all that is heavier than air—that is to say, the Navy should have the airships and the Army should have the aeroplanes. That is a natural division, because those who know most about it will tell you that the navigation and management of an airship is more like the management of a ship, and the management of an aeroplane is more like the management of a horse. . . .

It is a great mistake to suppose that your safety lies in mobilizing instantly a large Army. We think that the exact opposite is the case." ²

¹ *The Times*, March 3, 1913.

² Colonel Seely. Parliamentary Debates, vol. 1. pp. 1070-1, and 1093.

March 20. Speech in the House of Commons of Major-General Sir Ivor Herbert, M.P.

“To suggest that we could have an Army in this country which is capable of undertaking the formal invasion of any great European country is absurd. . . . It never has been contemplated by the present Government, and I am quite certain it never will be contemplated by them, that we should maintain half a million of men here for use in an expedition on the Continent for the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe.”¹

March 22.

“The past year has been one of considerable anxiety, owing to the war that has convulsed the Near East. Before Turkey had ratified peace with Italy on the question of Tripoli she found herself engaged in a most serious struggle with the allied Balkan and Greek States. The war has had disastrous results for the Turkish Empire, to which need not refer in any detail. Defective military arrangements appear to be responsible for this

¹ Parliamentary Debates, vol. l. pp. 1249, 1250, 1254.

breakdown of one of the finest fighting armies that existed in the world.”¹

March 28. German Government through the *North-German Gazette* publishes gist of its proposals for increase of the German Army and for the provision of the cost entailed by such increase.

“According to the explanatory statement, the total increase of the Army consists of 4,000 officers, 15,000 non-commissioned officers, 117,000 corporals and private soldiers, and 27,000 horses. . . . All the measures concerning the cavalry, infantry and artillery are ‘in view of their urgency’ to be carried out as far as possible in October of the present year. . . . Likewise the provision of war material of all kinds is to be accelerated, and there is to be a more rapid and extended construction of fortifications. . . . The total recurring expenditure is estimated at about £9,000,000 to £9,500,000, and the expenditure which is ‘regarded as of a non-recurring character’ is estimated at about

¹ Kitchener to Sir E. Grey, March 22, 1913. Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 1, 1913 (Cd. 6682), p. 1. The above extract helps to explain why Kitchener was reluctant to send troops to the Gallipoli peninsula in the winter of 1914 and the early part of 1915. See *infra*, pp. 492-3.

£52,500,000. . . . It is further proposed to increase the silver coinage up to the amount of £6,000,000, and to issue 5s. and 10s. bank notes, also to the amount of £6,000,000.”¹

March 29. Kitchener cuts first sod of town drainage works of Port Said.

March 30. German Army Bills and Bill for raising money for the Army presented to the Reichstag.

May 18. Kitchener at Alexandria.

May 30. Treaty of London, between (1) Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Montenegro and (2) Turkey signed; the Bulgarians (incited by Austro-Hungarian Government) refuse to abide by the settlement, and hostilities leading up to the Second Balkan War (between (1) Bulgaria and (2) Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro) speedily commence.

June 24. In the House of Commons.

“MR. HUNT asked the Secretary of State for War what is the estimated cost of the

¹ *The Times* correspondent at Berlin. *The Times*, March 29, 1913.

additions now contemplated to the military forces of Russia, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Holland, Belgium, Spain, and Italy.

COLONEL SEELY: The approximate figures are as follows—

France.

	£
Expenditure approved ...	16,800,000
Three Years' Bill—	
Non-recurring expenditure ...	22,600,000
Annual recurring expenditure	6,000,000

Germany.

Army Bill—

Non-recurring expenditure ...	44,200,000
Annual recurring expenditure	9,150,000

Holland.

Non-recurring expenditure ...	352,900
Annual recurring expenditure ...	59,000

No figures are available for Russia, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, or Spain. In the case of Italy there will be a decrease in expenditure.”¹

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, 1913, vol. liv. p. 976. From March 1913 to August 4, 1914, there was no increase in expenditure on the British Army corresponding with the huge increase in expenditure on the German and French Armies. According to the “Army Estimates” for 1914-15, “ordered, by the House of Commons, to be

June 30. German Army Bills, etc., passed by Reichstag.

July 2. They are sanctioned by the Bundesrath.

July 4. They are signed by Kaiser Wilhelm II at Kiel and become laws.

Kitchener, at Port Said, embarks on Japanese steamer *Kamo Maru* for Marseilles

printed, February 27, 1914," the net increase on the Estimates of 1912-13 was, in 1913-14, £360,000, and, in 1914-15, the net increase on the Estimates of 1913-14 was £625,000. But, as the "Remarks" on p. 3 of the "Army Estimates" for 1914-15 inform us, there was a "reduction on small arm ammunition" in both 1913-14 and 1914-15. The Financial Year of the British Government, we may mention, begins on the 1st of April and ends on the 31st of the succeeding March.

A note on p. 7 of the Army Estimates for 1914-15 shows how hopeful the British Government was that no great war, in which we should be involved, would break out either in 1914 or in the beginning of 1915. The note follows—

"Vote 9.

ARMAMENTS, ENGINEER STORES, AND AVIATION.

Increase £55,000,"

and runs: "The growth of expenditure on aviation is partly balanced by a reduction in requirements of small arm ammunition and rifles."

July 11. Arrives at Dover and proceeds to Broome Park.

Roumania attacks Bulgaria.

July 27. Kitchener staying with Lord Desborough at Taplow Court.

Aug. 10. Treaty of Bucharest ends Second Balkan War; Bulgaria has been defeated.

Aug. 20. *The Times* Military Correspondent, in the second of a series of four articles on "Europe's Armed Camp," writes—

"The sacrifices to which the German people have this year willingly consented are unexampled in modern history. Their cost will be great, but their result will be to endow Germany with a weapon of offence to which modern Europe has not seen the like since the balmy days of the First Empire. . . . The determination to wage offensive war with the utmost energy and ruthlessness remains to-day, as always, the central idea of the German strategist."¹

Sept. 3. Kitchener at Balmoral Castle.

Sept. 29. Leaves Venice for Egypt.

"According to reports which are circulated

¹ *The Times*, August 20, 1913.

by the Italian Press, Lord Kitchener intended to make a stay in Venice on his way back to Egypt, but changed his plan on the basis of a sequence of information said to have been received by the police that some Italian fanatics had organized a plot against his life."¹

Oct. 2. Kitchener arrives at Cairo

¹ *The Times*, October 6, 1913. In connection with the undoubted plot of June 1912, and this alleged attempt on Kitchener's life in September 1913), it may be noted that (1) the anonymous German author or authors of the "note regarding the strengthening of the German position in Egypt," dated March 19, 1913, and published in the German Yellow Book ("France and the European War," translation, p. 8), observes or observe, "it is necessary that through well-chosen agents we should establish contact with influential people in Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, in order to prepare the necessary measures in case of European war," and (2) that the "Yellow Book," which, as already mentioned, was first published in 1902, says: "International law is in no way opposed to the exploitation of the crimes of third parties (such as incendiarism, robbery, and the like) to the prejudice of the enemy" (Professor Morgan's translation, pp. 10-11). "enemy" we may legitimately read "potential enemy." On the other hand it is noticeable that Kitchener safely travelled on the German steamer *Schlesien* in September 1912 and returned safely to England via Trieste, in June 1914.

Nov. 22.

M. Jules Cambon, French Ambassador at Berlin, to M. Stephen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

BERLIN, *November 22, 1913.*

I have received from an absolutely sure source a record of a conversation which is reported between the Emperor and the King of the Belgians, in the presence of the Chief of the General Staff, General von Moltke, a fortnight ago—a conversation which would appear greatly to have struck King Albert.

I am in no way surprised by the impression created, which corresponds with that made on me some time ago. Hostility against us is becoming more marked, and the Emperor has ceased to be a partisan of peace. The German Emperor's interlocutor thought up to the present, as did everybody, that William the Second, whose personal influence has been exerted in many critical circumstances in favour of the maintenance of peace, was still in the same state of mind. This time, it appears, he found him completely changed. The German Emperor is no longer in his eyes the champion of peace, against the bellicose tendencies of certain German parties. William II has been brought to think that war with France is inevitable, and that it will have to come to it one day or

the other. The Emperor, it need I said, believes in the crushing success of the German Army and in its success.

General von Moltke spoke in exactly the same sense as his Sovereign. He declared that war was necessary and inevitable but he showed himself still more confident of success. 'For,' said he to the Kaiser, 'the time we must put an end to it' (*ce n'est qu'une question de temps à faire finir*), 'and Your Majesty cannot doubt the irresistible enthusiasm with which that day will carry away the whole people.'¹

Dec. 29. Kitchener goes for an aerial flight with airman Olivier from the 1st aerodrome.

Dec. 31. Leaves Cairo for the Sudan.

1914, *Jan. 4.* Arrives at Khartoum. Inspects site of Blue Nile dam at Sennar.

Stops at Tayiba and inspects experimental farm.

¹ The translation of the French Yellow Book by *The Times*, pp. 18 and 19.

Jan. 7. Attends consecration of a new Masonic temple at Khartoum.

Jan. 15. Returns to Khartoum from El Obeid having inspected site of White Nile dam.

Visits excavations at Meröe.

Jan. 22. Present at inauguration of new Egyptian Legislative Assembly.

March 10. In House of Commons Colonel Seely, Secretary of State for War, introduces and explains Army Estimates for 1914-15.

“Let us see what the position would be—and I thought it might interest the House if I made this calculation—if we went to war to-morrow. We should have in India and the Colonies 117,000 men fully mobilized. We should have at home 121,000 men, and we should be able to call upon an Army Reserve of 146,000 men. . . . We should then [on the declaration of war] mobilize an Expeditionary Force of about 162,000 men, complete in all details—men, horses, rifles, guns, and ammunition. . . . I do not say that the Army which I have described would meet every call that might be made upon our Empire. It could not. We want help from the people of this country other than the Regular Army. We want help from our Dominions overseas,

but I do say that for the purposes of immediate danger, a bolt from the blue, our Army is now well organized, well equipped and ready for the duties which it may have to perform." ¹

March 17.

"Any hostile aircraft, airships or aeroplanes, which reached our coast during the coming year would be promptly attacked in superior force by a swarm of very formidable hornets. . . . We have, built and building and ordered, fifteen airships, of which ten are large vessels, or medium-sized vessels, of over 45 miles an hour speed" (Mr. Winston Churchill).

March 18. Kitchener at land distribution at Shalma.

March 20. *The Times* publishes the following :

"The sun power plant, by which low-pressure steam is generated by the heat of the sun's rays, recently erected at Meadi, near Cairo, has given satisfactory results, and Lord Kitchener and Sir Reginald Wingate

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, 1914, vol. lix. pp. 1078, 1079, 1081.

² Ibid., 1914, vol. lix. p. 1913.

have invited the makers to put up a similar plant for irrigation work in the Soudan."

June 18. Kitchener leaves Egypt for England viâ Trieste.

KITCHENER ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

During his tenure of office in Egypt he sent to Sir Edward Grey three long reports, dated respectively April 6, 1912, March 22, 1913, and March 28, 1914. These reports, which have been published, contain his authoritative pronouncements on civil government.¹ We have arranged under headings those of his statements which appear to us to be of most interest. The dates placed after the quotations are those of the above reports.²

PARTY GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL PROGRESS.

"The development and elevation of the character of a people depends mainly on the

¹ Parliamentary Papers, Egypt. No. 1, 1912 (Cd. 6149); No. 1, 1913 (Cd. 6682); and No. 1, 1914 (Cd. 7358).

² The extracts have been printed not from written copies, but from the printed text of the reports. The numbers at the heads of the paragraphs are ours.

growth of self-control and the power to dominate natural impulses, as well as on the practice of unobtrusive self-reliance and perseverance, combined with reasoned determination. None of these elements of advance are assisted in any way by party strife. Calm and well-considered interest in political affairs is good for both the governed and those who rule, but fictitious interest, generally based on misrepresentation and maintained by party funds and party tactics, does nothing to elevate or develop the intelligent character of an Oriental race" (April 6, 1912).

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN EGYPT.

1. "On returning to Egypt after a long absence I have been forcibly struck by the fact that the formerly homogeneous body of intelligent Mohammedan inhabitants who constituted a collective community based on fixed social laws is now split up and divided into parties and factions of a political character. Whatever the value of a party system may be in Western political life, it is evident that its application to an intensely democratic

community, the essential basis of whose social system is the brotherhood of man, combined with respect for learning and the experience of age, is an unnatural proceeding, fraught with inevitable division and weakness" (April 6, 1912).

2. "I am glad to be able to report that political feeling in other respects has lately been much calmer, and that the consideration of practical reforms for the good of the country has apparently become more interesting to the majority of the people than discussions on abstruse political questions which are unlikely to lead to any useful result" (April 6, 1912).

3. "It is satisfactory to be able to record that the observations I made last year on the political situation in Egypt have apparently borne fruit. There has been a marked diminution of party feeling and party strife, and I notice indications of greater confidence in the Government, particularly among the silent mass of the people" (March 22, 1913).

4. "I hope I am not too optimistic in considering these to be signs that in the near future the population will be again closely united, and, while placing personal interest aside, will endeavour to work loyally for the common good and to further the real interest of their country. In the meantime, I trust it is fully realized that the Government are doing all in their power to improve the condition of the people and help them forward on sound lines, both as regards their material and political progress" (March 22, 1913).

5. "Thirty years is a short spell in the life of a nation. It took our own country almost a thousand years to bring representative institutions to their present state, and infinite patience and unremitting effort will be well repaid if the advantages of representative institutions can be thus safely secured for the Egyptian people. Experience had, moreover revealed certain organic defects which militated against the success of an experiment which had then been thirty years on its trial, and, rather than continue on the old lines with their not very encouraging results, it was decided to do

what was possible to remove those defects, and thus give the Egyptians a fresh chance of working out their own future representative institutions by proving that they are worthy of the confidence reposed in them " (March 28, 1914).

6. "Absolute government always leaves behind it traces of the feelings it engenders. Those who have been accustomed to accept almost blindly the decisions of their rulers are ill-equipped all at once to become their advisers. It is easy enough for persons who have been brought up to the idea, to give unprejudiced opinions on any subject they are competent to deal with, but this power is not born in men; it has to be acquired" (March 28, 1914).

7. "Representative bodies can only be safely developed when it is shown that they are capable of performing adequately their present functions, and that there is good hope that they could undertake still more important and arduous responsibilities. If representative government in its simplest form

is found to be unworkable, there is little prospect of its becoming more useful when its scope is extended. No Government would be insane enough to consider that because an advisory Council had proved itself unable to carry out its functions in a reasonable and satisfactory manner, it should therefore be given a larger measure of power and control' (March 28, 1914).

8. " Naturally the result of so novel an experience is, at all events to begin with that, on the one hand, the desire amongst a section of the people to avoid incurring the displeasure of those whose power appeared in former years almost unlimited and who, judging by the history of the past, they perhaps not unreasonably think might possibly recover that power, renders them unwilling to give an independent opinion ; on the other hand through a confusion of ideas, there is a tendency amongst another class to show undue independence by pursuing unobtainable political aims and aspirations and consequently taking up an attitude of opposition to the proposals of the Government whatever they may be

These individuals fail to see that the very essence of governing by and with an advisory Council is that it should loyally and wholeheartedly assist the Government to the best of its powers, and by well-timed advice avoid the evil results of ill-conceived or unjust measures, and by its suggestions enable the Government to meet and carry out as far as practicable the wishes of the inhabitants of the country" (March 28, 1914).

9. "Happily, as I have pointed out elsewhere, some of the causes of failure in the past are certainly diminishing, and it may be fairly hoped that when the excellent common sense shown by the Egyptians in so many other matters is brought to bear on these questions, the majority will recognize what the path of true wisdom really is.

Another cause which has no doubt militated against the utility of these institutions in the past is the misconception amongst certain members as to how progress towards a still more democratic form of government could best be pursued" (March 28, 1914).

10. "Whether this new experiment will be a success or not depends in my opinion on one factor and one only, and that is the spirit in which it is carried out. If the Assembly co-operate loyally and earnestly with the Government for the good of the people of Egypt, their moral improvement, their health, their wealth, and their good government, and the Government accept this assistance in the spirit in which it is tendered, the reform in the law will be an unmixed blessing to this country, and it may be an important step along the path of true progress. If, on the other hand, outside influence and foolish counsels prevail, and the Assembly by unjustified hostility to the Government, unseemly bickering, unreasonable obstruction and futile attempts to extend its own personal importance, outweighing the advantages derived from such institutions, retarding the progress of reform and acting against the true interests of the Egyptian people, not only will it inevitably destroy itself, but it will convince all reasonable men that this country for the present is not fitted for those representative institutions which are now on their trial in

Egypt. Personally I have every confidence in the common sense of the people of Egypt, and I hope that their representatives in the new Assembly will show their desire for practical progress in the government of the country by following lines of amicable co-operation between the governed and the governors " (March 28, 1914).

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND THE "HARD-
WORKING, UNHEARD MASSES OF THE PEOPLE."

"It will therefore be seen that in the past this, the most important representative institution in the country, has had ups and downs, periods of useful work as well as periods of falling off, when, if left without control, serious harm might have resulted to the country. The experience of the past has, I think, clearly shown to Egyptians how little is to be gained by attempting to force the pace by obstruction and agitation, and how all progress in the country is thus retarded and valuable time lost; and I hope that the lesson has been learned that noisy extremists and outside political influences must be eliminated if the

Assembly is really to represent the hard working, unheard masses of the people, who desire reform and improvement in their condition of life, and look for this result from the representatives they send to assist the Government in working for their good' (March 28, 1914).

THE LOCAL COUNCILS.

1. "A continually increasing number of citizens have been successively summoned to take part in the administration of the country both in the lower representative institutions such as the municipalities and Provincial Councils, as well as finally in the Legislative Assembly itself. . . . I have little doubt that this development has had a highly beneficial effect on the morals and character of the people, and has materially assisted their advance in the path of civic and domestic progress" (March 28, 1914).

2. "I notice, however, with some concern that in certain Councils, notably those of Minia, Gharbia, and Behera, several of the

councillors have not found it possible to attend more than a relatively small proportion of the sittings. As regards those councillors whose abstentions are due to no more serious causes than a flagging interest, or the fact that the study and execution of heavy and increasing programmes make too great a call upon their leisure, I can only recommend them to surrender their places to others able to give more undivided attention to duties which can but become more important and exacting as time goes on" (March 22, 1913).

3. "In 1910 the Councils had devoted all the money they spent to education, and had neglected works of public utility. It was, therefore, desirable that in 1911 they should give their special attention to this important object. I find that the Councils voted £E.37,300 for such works, but that they only spent £E.6,000 of this sum, carrying no less than £E.31,300 to their reserves. With the exception of an eye hospital at Sharkieh and a children's hospital at Minia I can find no schemes of importance undertaken under this heading. It would appear that the Councils

experienced difficulty in finding suitable objects of public utility which require assistance or encouragement ; whereas the want of better communications, of convenient bridges of drains, of proper medical attention, of more sanitary surroundings, of village dispensaries of eye hospitals, etc., represent only a few of the crying needs of the country population. I feel convinced that in the coming year the Councils will do away with any reproach under which they may suffer in this matter. I note with satisfaction that ophthalmic hospitals are to be created in Gharbieh, Assiut, Behera, Sharkieh, Minia, and Kena and I trust that other provinces will follow this example " (April 6, 1912).

4. " The programme which I recommended to the notice of the Provincial Councils in my last year's report has been already to some extent taken up. The training of the village barbers in first aid has commenced, and 170 have completed the prescribed course and entered upon their duties. They have been supplied with simple remedies, bandages, etc. The results are encouraging, but it is obvious

that careful inspection will be necessary to keep the men up to standard.

The regular training of midwives is now being taken up by the local authorities. A beginning has been made in this direction by the establishment in Cairo by the Government of a maternity school, and this very necessary institution is being copied in provincial centres, which will, I hope, supply the necessary trained midwives for villages, where constant inspection and supervision will be necessary to ensure that the principles that are being taught are being strictly carried out" (March 22, 1913).

GOVERNMENTS AND TRADE.

"The part which the Government should take in assisting to develop the resources of the country, either in conjunction with or in advance of private enterprise, is a question of great importance. If left to his own devices the native will continue to pursue his antique methods, while the middleman is concerned, as a rule, only with his immediate profit; and there can be no doubt as

to the necessity of some Government intervention in regard to the cultivation of foreign markets. Striking illustrations of the success attending Government intervention in this regard are to be found in the increase in prosperity resulting from the improvement of the Tokar cotton crop, and the remarkable increase in the export of live stock under Government control" (April 6, 1912).

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE AND PRODUCTIVE ENTERPRISE.

"Some £30,000,000 have been spent on public works and railways out of the resources of the country without recourse to foreign capital. The Government have, in fact, saved a portion of the income of the people and capitalized it for productive purposes, their dealings with public capital thus contrasting strongly with the individual treatment of private capital during the same period" (March 22, 1913).

TRADE STRATEGY.

"Another fact of great importance is that

the creation of Port Soudan and the construction of new railways have brought the Soudan within easy reach of international commerce, and it is evident that the country occupies an extremely strong strategic position in relation to both European and Eastern markets" (April 6, 1912).

AGRICULTURE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF
COTTON GROWING.

1. "The future development of the vast mass of the inhabitants of Egypt depends upon improved conditions of agriculture, which, with educational progress, are the more essential steps towards the material and moral advance of the people. The newly formed Agricultural Department of Government is doing its best, whilst learning by experience, to impart instruction and advice to cultivators, and by itself establishing experimental farms scattered throughout the country, to give ocular proof of the truth of their precepts" (April 6, 1912).

2. "Egypt, as an agricultural country with no industries of importance, depends on the

export of one staple product, cotton ; for he imports of manufactures, of fuel, and of a portion of her food-stuffs, as well as for the service of her foreign debt. Her banking system is linked up with foreign money markets, and her currency is furnished by the import or export of gold coin according to the variations in the demand for circulation. Equable climatic conditions, a perennial water-supply, and the extraordinary fertility of the soil combine to ensure regular and abundant crops. A well-ordered Government and freedom from political disturbances enable the industrious population to pursue their vocations in peace and security, untrammelled by the burden of military and naval expenditure which weighs so heavily on the finance of other countries " (March 22, 1913).

3. " So long as the cultivation of cotton remains as profitable as it is at present, that commodity will probably retain its place as the principal factor in Egypt's international exchanges, and its production will continue to absorb the preponderating share of the

activities of the population. But the Government is thoroughly alive to the expediency of developing the resources of the country in other directions, whether agricultural, mineral, or industrial, although in the last case there are as yet but slight indications of progress" (March 22, 1913).

4. "The common boll-worm, which annually destroys a large quantity of cotton, has also been the subject of study, and the Government entomologist was dispatched to India to procure a supply of the parasites which attack the insect in that country. This mission was successful, and live examples of these parasites have now been produced in Egypt. In the meantime the important discovery has been made here of another enemy of the common boll-worm, which has been named *Rhogas Kitcheneri*. It is hoped that the propagation of these parasites will minimize the attacks of boll-worm in the future. The Boll-worm Law was revised during the year, and the growing of 'okr' or 'ratoon' cotton prohibited" (March 22, 1913).

THE PEOPLE OF EGYPT (FELLAHEEN, ETC.
AND MEASURES FOR THEIR PROTECTION
AND MATERIAL IMPROVEMENT.

1. "The fellah remains the same as he has always been, one of the best and most hard working types of humanity, somewhat conservative, like most cultivators, and hardly realizing the changes that have taken place around him. It is difficult for a people who have through many ages always striven for more water for their cultivation, to realize that too much of a good thing may be detrimental. It is, however, an incontestable fact that a considerable proportion of the irrigation water now supplied is not only wasted, but does actual harm to the crops' (April 6, 1912).

2. "The indebtedness of the fellah has always been a source of grave economic anxiety. It is hoped that the spread of education in the elementary schools may, without inducing him to leave the land, teach him to be more careful in his monetary transactions, and that an extension of savings banks

to the villages will give him the means of practising thrift, and enable him eventually to clear himself of debt. It is also hoped that by establishing cotton markets throughout the country, where means for accurate weighing under Government control will be provided, and where the price of cotton will be daily posted, the possibility of the fellah being defrauded by the small merchants to whom he sells his cotton will be prevented, and that he will thus be able to realize a better pecuniary result from his labour" (April 6, 1912).

3. "The general working of the *halakas* is as follows: An enclosed space about an acre in extent is taken in a suitable position, in the centre of which the official weighing machine is erected, and, in a prominent position, a notice-board is placed, on which is daily marked up in large figures the opening price of ginned cotton, received by telegram from an agent in the Bourse in Alexandria; should there be a rise or fall of more than 5 piastres during the morning, a further telegram is received and posted up

notifying the change. In addition to this, a circular is dispatched every afternoon by the National Bank of Egypt at Alexandria giving the latest prices at Minet-el-Bassal of all the various kinds of cotton and of seed. This notice is also displayed in a conspicuous position. The small farmer throughout the country is thus informed of all the latest prices of cotton in Alexandria, and is no longer obliged to rely on information gathered from interested parties" (March 22, 1913).

4. "The Egyptian peasant has had from time immemorial an ingrained habit of spending more money than he can afford on ceremonies, such as marriage, etc., and moreover he willingly ruins himself in litigation rather than make terms with his adversary. These defects of character make him an easy prey to the usurer, who is always on the spot, ready to advance money on his land. The fellah, though I hope learning, has not yet acquired habits of thrift, and had, up to the establishment of savings banks in the villages, no secure place to keep his money. It will no doubt take a long time to change the

habits of centuries. Meanwhile, the security of the cultivator's tenure required safeguarding" (March 22, 1913).

5. "The Five Feddan Law is based on a number of instances of similar legislation in other countries, such as the Homestead Laws in the United States of America, the law instituting the '*bien de famille insaisissable*' in France, certain precedents in Germany, Russia, and Roumania, and the Punjab Land Alienation Act in India. It gives protection to the small cultivator of 5 feddans and under, against expropriation of his land, house, and farming utensils for debt. It does not prevent his selling his land, should he so desire, or raising money on his crops. The Law is not retrospective as regards debts already incurred" (March 22, 1913).

6. "It is easy to chronicle the insanitary condition of the villages of Egypt, but it is not such an easy task to point out practical remedies. I think, however, that the existing conditions indicate that improvement may be obtained in the following directions: (1) Edu-

cation of the people in the elements of hygiene and the causes of the diseases common in their villages and how to avoid them. An elementary primer on the subject should be used as a text-book in all the village schools (2) The organization of a system of village sanitary inspection, consisting of about one inspector for ten villages, who would report to the Markaz doctor all that happened in regard to health questions and sanitary matters in the villages under his charge. A soldier who had served his time and become a non-commissioned officer in the Egyptian Army, with a little training in this kind of work, would probably make a very suitable sanitary inspector. (3) The improvement in the villages themselves would then proceed on lines of proper conservancy (which would do much to prevent ankylostoma and bilharzia infections), the filling up of 'birkas, the erection of decent, ventilated houses, and the arrangement of a purer water-supply' (March 28, 1914).

7. "In order to deal with the diseases ankylostomiasis and bilharziasis, a travelling

kylostoma hospital has been organized, and the results have shown a marked success. This experiment will be extended, and a large campaign against the diseases will be undertaken. Thus the natural conditions under which infection takes place will come under investigation, and the more favourable conditions of soil for the ova to hatch out and the larvæ to live in will be examined; also whether in heavily infected villages there are the main foci of infection which can be tracked and destroyed" (March 28, 1914).

8. "The principal eye diseases which require to be dealt with are acute ophthalmia, which is the main cause of blindness in Egypt, and chronic trachoma, which affects a very large percentage of the population. From evidence recently brought to light in the Ebers papyrus, it appears that these diseases were rife in Egypt as long as 3,500 years ago. The means which have been adopted for dealing with them in the provinces, both from the point of view of treatment and prevention, are the establishment of a permanently-built eye hospital in the capital

town of each province, and of one or more travelling tent hospitals to tour round the more distant towns and villages. Spreading from these centres, various branches of work, such as the treatment of the pupils in schools and Kuttabs, lectures on ophthalmic hygiene, distribution of pamphlets giving instructions for the prevention of infection, provision of first aid in eye diseases in the remoter villages, and talks in simple language to collections of women on the necessity of cleanliness for their children, are being undertaken. By these means it is hoped to effect a considerable improvement among a people who are intensely anxious to avail themselves of ophthalmic relief" (March 28, 1914).

9. "Though there is not much malaria in Egypt, and though the cases observed are mostly of the benign tertian type, it seems advisable to discover the sources to which these infections are due. In the course of last year a good many sporadic cases of simple tertian malaria were noticed in the suburbs of Cairo. Different chemical bodies have been studied as regards their aptitud

or killing mosquito larvæ in water, and experiments have also been commenced with view to finding the most suitable kind of fish for the destruction of mosquito larvæ" (March 28, 1914).

10. "The building and equipping of hospitals for the treatment of diseases is undoubtedly a worthy and indeed a necessary object, but it fails to strike at the root of the matter, and in the absence of other measures we might go on building hospitals and treating patients without making any impression on the incidence of such maladies as the above. Prevention is better than cure, and it is therefore desirable to strike at the root of the evils I have just described and to proceed systematically on sound lines based on a correct understanding of the natural history of the infective agents and with a clear appreciation of the factors and the conditions under which the prevalent diseases of the country are contracted and propagated" (March 28, 1914).

11. "In order to establish a proper milk

control, standards for the composition of normal buffalo milk have been worked out, and similar standards are being made for cows' milk. A biological method for the differentiation of cow and buffalo milk has also been discovered in the bacteriological section, and will be of great utility for the detection of fraud. It is very important that a proper food control should be established in Egypt, and for this purpose standards will be gradually elaborated for the different food-stuffs. An adequate control will, however, require preliminary legislation" (March 28, 1914).

12. "The introduction of public latrines is gradually overcoming what was until lately a standing menace to the health of town communities. Much, however, still requires to be done in this direction, and also in overcoming the natural aversion of the lower orders to the use of latrines" (March 28, 1914).

13 "It will be recognized that these conditions are the result of a backward state of civilization amongst the general population for it is well known that the fellaheen are

physically a stalwart race. Steady progress in dealing with public health problems and a gradual increase in education, especially of the women, should improve matters. Certain reforms towards this end have already been instituted. Maternity schools and children's dispensaries have been established in the provincial towns. In the schools the village midwives receive a course of training under a qualified English matron, and in the dispensaries the children are treated and their mothers instructed by a qualified English nurse in the principles of cleanliness, clothing, proper diet, and the treatment of the common diseases of childhood" (March 28, 1914).

PUBLIC WORKS.

1. "The general conclusions at which I have arrived are (1) that the necessary supply of irrigation water for the present greatly extended area of cultivation is assured; (2) that sufficient water for all probable extension in the Delta during the next fifteen years is also assured, except in the event of a very low summer river; (3) that, as it is advisable

to allow some extension of perennial cultivation in Upper Egypt and to meet the demands for water for extended cultivation in the Delta in years of low supply, fresh works will be necessary to increase the quantity available for distribution. The proposed dam on the White Nile will, it is expected, be sufficient for this purpose (March 22, 1913).

2. " In contrast with the rapid development of Egypt in other respects, I have been struck by the absence of roads suitable for animal and motor traffic. To meet this need, a Main Roads Department has been formed in the Ministry of Public Works for the construction and control of high-roads through the country connecting all the principal Mudiria towns and others of importance. In carrying out this policy a new road has been opened providing through communication between Alexandria and Cairo, and Cairo and Helwan. On the other hand, the construction and maintenance of purely agricultural roads, which are so necessary for

the removal of crops, has been handed over to the Provincial Councils " (March 22, 1913).

EDUCATION.

Value of Manual Exercises.

1. " Valuable elements of national advancement can be obtained from even a little learning, in addition to the discipline which the character and the intellect undergo thereby. One of the worst features of the elementary education hitherto supplied has been that it was restricted so largely to the cultivation of memory. An instruction that is merely 'bookish' leaves some of the most useful faculties of the mind undeveloped. Manual exercises train the eye to accuracy in observation, the hand to skill in execution, and the mind to a sense of the importance of truthfulness in work. They cultivate habits of diligence, neatness, and attention to detail, and quicken the general intelligence " (April 6, 1912).

Examinations.

2. " The general report on the examina-

tions records a good standard of work, but states that there is too great a tendency to memorize, and that undue attention is given to bookwork. Special endeavours will accordingly be made to train the students in practical questions demanding intelligence and initiative (March 22, 1913).

Large and Small Classes.

3. The condition of the school¹ is satisfactory, though effective teaching has been recently hampered by the large size of the classes on the English side. Steps have been taken to remedy this evil by subdivision of the classes for certain purposes, and arrangements are under consideration for a further development of this system and the substitution of tutorial instruction in small classes for overcrowded public lectures" (March 22, 1913).

Educational Policy in the Soudan.

4. "The educational policy which it has always been the endeavour of the Soudan Government to carry out is, briefly, to bring

¹ School of Law.

within the reach of the native of the Soudan facilities for such education and technical instruction as are suited to his standard of intelligence, and will best fit him to take part in promoting the progress and development of the country, and at the same time carefully to avoid the evils consequent upon any attempt to force upon a semi-Oriental and half-civilized people an elaborate system of education suited only to a highly civilized Western nation" (April 6, 1912).

Rural Schools.

5. "What seems most required for progress . . . is to evolve the best type of rural school, adapted to the special practical needs of agricultural districts, and when this has been done we may confidently hope to see a considerable increase in the number of boys educated. It must not be forgotten that any hasty or unthought-out development of education in rural districts, unless it is carefully adapted to rural necessities, may imperil the agricultural interests on which the prosperity of the country so largely depends. A rural exodus in Egypt would

be an economic and social disaster of considerable magnitude. To avoid this contingency, a half-time system of education allowing of labour in the fields for the remainder of the day, with holidays fixed in accordance with agricultural necessities, seems the best solution " (April 6, 1912).

Trades Schools.

6. " The development of local industries is of the greatest importance, and where the industry is one demanding skilled labour, the trades schools take the place of a system of apprenticeship. They have already a creditable record in turning out manual workers of a better order than can be produced in the workshops of the country, most of which, except in the largest centres, still employ very antiquated methods. In a few years' time it is hoped that a sufficient body of skilled workers will be available for engineering, woodwork, cabinet-making, leatherwork, and weaving " (March 28, 1914).

Technical and Commercial Schools.

7. " It is obvious . . . that, as time goes

on, the increasing number of schools will result in a larger yearly demand for employment, and the Government services will be unable to absorb the product. The object, however, of technical education is not only to supply the needs of the public services, important as this aspect of the case may be, but to help individuals to earn a living in private life. Technical schools are intended to prepare students for industrial occupations, and agricultural schools to provide instruction for youths who will afterwards work either on their own lands or in subordinate posts of authority on private estates. The recently instituted commercial schools were designed to prepare Egyptians to take a larger share in the business of their country. I fear that, in the past, Government employment has been regarded as almost the sole end of education. It is very desirable, however, that young men should understand that there are other opportunities for their energies, and that, if they possess due qualifications and aptitude for work, they can obtain adequate remuneration in private capacities" (March 22, 1913).

Education of Girls.

8. "Opposition to and even apathy concerning the education of girls have now almost entirely disappeared, and a genuine public interest in the question is growing up. The Government is doing its utmost to meet this demand, and endeavouring to secure development on satisfactory lines. Save in the service of their own sex, the women of Egypt have no career outside their own homes; hence it is of the first importance that their education should aim at preparing them for the duties of home-life" (March 28, 1914).

University.

9. With the introduction and co-ordination of the Higher Schools of Law, Medicine, Engineering, and Agriculture, the nucleus of a real University undeniably exists.

The present University is hardly such a one as to facilitate the taking up of an extended scheme including faculties of the above branches of knowledge, without which the establishment of a genuine University system

in Egypt on progressive lines appears to be impossible " (April 6, 1912).

10. "The somewhat ambitious titles given in general to Egyptian institutions may have caused in some quarters a misconception as to the status of their enterprise, which possesses, as at present constituted, comparatively few of the usual attributes of University life or curriculum. The only faculty which has been hitherto attempted is that of letters, which labours under the disadvantage, to the average Egyptian, of presenting no obvious material prospect in after life " (April 6, 1912).

11. "A feature of some general interest connected with the secondary course of study is a preference which has lately manifested itself for the scientific, as opposed to the literary side. When the system of bifurcation into these two classes of study was introduced, it was anticipated that the literary side, which prepared students for the School of Law, would be much more popular than the scientific side, which led on to the Schools of Medicine and Engineering. This was the case for

some years, but since 1909 the scientific course has had the larger number of pupils, and last year some of the literary classes had to be converted into scientific ones ; the result being that there are now thirteen of the latter and only five of the former. Although this diversion from literary to scientific studies may result from a recognition on the part of the pupils or their parents that the legal profession is overstocked, it must be regarded as a welcome phenomenon, in view of the general need for training of a more practical nature (March 22, 1913).

Free Primary Schools : Free Meals for Scholars.

12. "A recent feature deserving notice is the establishment of a free primary school in Cairo. The principle of free education is not entirely new in Egypt, as fees for elementary vernacular instruction have never been exacted in the case of children too poor to pay. Moreover, opportunities for free education above the primary course already exist in the shape of scholarships tenable in the secondary and technical schools, and of free admission to the

training colleges for teachers. The establishment of the new free school in the primary grade will therefore complete the provision of facilities for promising boys to whom the prospect of bettering their position in life is at present closed. A free mid-day meal will be given to these pupils, and every precaution will be taken that only children who are really indigent and deserving will be admitted" (March 28, 1914).

The Illiteracy of the Fellah: its Drawbacks in After Life.

13. "It is satisfactory to see that girls' schools figure in the programme of some of the Provincial Councils, though, chiefly owing to difficulties in providing teachers, progress in this direction has not been so great or so rapid as might be wished. The Provincial Councils have at present 45,173 boys and 5,500 girls in the elementary schools, besides 10,000 boys in higher schools. One of the most hopeful features is the evidence of a desire to adapt the teaching to everyday needs, and to reduce thereby the large proportion of illiterates in the country. There is no doubt that illiteracy

places the fellah at a serious personal disadvantage in his mutual relationships in life, and impedes at every step the economic and social development of the country. When the conditions of life were still simple, illiteracy was not, perhaps, felt as a serious drawback. Modern changes have, however, brought the agriculturist, trader, and workman increasingly into contact with the more highly educated sections of the community, thus making larger demands on their intelligence and capacity, and placing them amongst surroundings in which their illiteracy is an ever-growing disability" (April 6, 1912).

Future Careers of Scholars.

14. "The influence of the Department is exerted to encourage the learning of trades which are neglected, and to watch, as far as possible, over the future of the boys when they have completed their training. There is a tendency at this stage for boys to go to Cairo or Alexandria in search of work rather than to try to find it in their own districts. Efforts have been made to counteract this movement by making the schools a centre to which

employers will apply when they want workmen, and go for advice and help in providing their own workshops with new machines and tools, or in undertaking work presenting special difficulties" (March 28, 1914).

Egyptian Students in Europe.

15. "Ever since I entered upon my present duties I have been anxious to arrange some practical means of improving the conditions and environment of young Egyptians who are sent by their parents to study in Europe. The Government have now taken the matter in hand, and, in consultation with the fathers or guardians of the students, are arranging to place inspectors in each country, who will keep in touch with these youths, regulate their studies and conduct, and supervise their holidays" (March 22, 1913).

THE SOUDAN.

1. "When we conquered the Soudan there was hardly a single inhabitant who possessed any money, and, with the exception of the fighting men, the whole population was prac-

tically starving. Nothing, I think, strikes one more in revisiting the Soudan to-day than the great increase which has taken place in the individual prosperity of its inhabitants. This increased prosperity, which is the result of careful administration, has been so equally divided throughout the entire population that it is not too much to say that there is now hardly a poor man in the Soudan. Unlike the Egyptian fellaheen, the Soudan cultivators are not bound down by debts, and have not, therefore, to struggle to meet the exorbitant interest of the usurers who prey upon this class in Egypt. In the Soudan the benefits of peace have been fully reaped by the cultivators, and the increased facilities of communication have brought markets hitherto undreamt of to their doors. The development of the rich products of the country has been carefully fostered, and a golden harvest has thus been brought in which has remained in the country. It is therefore not surprising that the people are contented, happy, and loyal. When expressions of this happiness and contentment are heard, it is satisfactory to feel that they are not merely word painting for the benefit of the

ulers of the country, but are based, as the people themselves maintain, on solid facts" (April 6, 1912).

2. "Peaceful development, undisturbed by political feeling, continues in the Soudan, and has enabled the country to take another stride in its advance towards prosperity. Under the financial heading of my report on Egypt, the change by which the Soudan has relinquished the grant-in-aid which Egypt has hitherto provided has been fully dealt with" (March 22, 1913).

3. "Steady progress has been maintained [in surveying], and the employment of natives for topographical work for the first time has greatly facilitated operations. The new general map of the Soudan on a scale of $\frac{1}{3000000}$ is nearing completion, and will be issued in the spring" (March 28, 1914).

June 23. Kitchener arrives at Dover.

June 28. Murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife at Serajevo.

June 29. Kitchener received in audience by King George V.

July 23. Austria-Hungary delivers ultimatum to Serbia.

July 26.

“The news from abroad on the morning of July 26th was certainly, in my opinion, very disquieting, and when you called me up on the telephone from Cromer about lunch-time I was not at all surprised to hear you express the same view. You then asked me to take any steps which, in view of the foreign situation, might appear desirable. You reminded me, however, that I was in charge of the Admiralty and should act without waiting to consult you. You also informed me you would return that night instead of next morning.

After making myself acquainted with all the telegrams which had reached the Foreign Office, and considering the different steps towards demobilization, which in the ordinary course of events would have commenced early next morning, I directed the Secretary, as a first step, to send an Admiralty Order by telegraph to the Commander-in-Chief of the Home Fleets at Portland to the effect that no ship was to leave that anchorage until

further orders. For the time this was sufficient.

You fully approved of this when you returned, and we then, in perfect accord, decided upon the further orders as they became necessary, day by day " (Prince Louis of Battenberg to Mr. Winston Churchill).¹

July 28. Austria-Hungary declares war on Serbia.

July 29. Midnight Council at Potsdam; German Chancellor subsequently receives Sir E. Goschen and bids for British neutrality.

July 31. Germany delivers ultimatum to Russia.

Aug. 1. Germany declares war on Russia.

Aug. 2. German troops invade Luxemburg and France, and Germany presents ultimatum to Belgium.

¹ Letter of August 19, 1915, published in *The Times*, August 21, 1915. Any mistakes Mr. Churchill may have made before or since the war broke out should always be considered in the light of the above statement.

Aug. 3. *The Times* Military Correspondent suggests in *The Times* of this date that Kitchener should be appointed Secretary of State for War.

Kitchener, about to leave Dover by 1 p.m. boat *en route* for Egypt, is called to London by a telegram from Mr. Asquith.

6.45 *p.m.* Germany declares war on France.

Aug. 4. In the morning two divisions of German cavalry invade Belgium and reach the Meuse at Visé between Liége and the Dutch frontier; two regiments of Hussars ford the Meuse at Lixhe, north of Visé. "At this moment, seven *corps d'armée*, about 300,000 men," advance against the fortified camp of Liége.¹

The *Goeben* and *Breslau* (German men-of-war) bombard Bône and Philippeville, Algerian ports.

Kitchener calls on Mr. Asquith (Prime

¹ "L'Action de l'Armée Belge, Rapport du Commandement de l'armée" (1915), p. 11.

Minister, First Lord of the Treasury, and Secretary of State for War), and is reported to be working at the War Office.

At about 7 p.m. Great Britain, through Sir E. Goschen, delivers ultimatum to Germany, expiring at 12 p.m. Germany refuses to comply with terms of ultimatum. Sir E. Goschen demands his passports. "That very night the German mine-layer, *Koenigin Luise*, was busy off the British coast."¹

War begins between Great Britain and Germany.

¹ "Nelson's History of the War," by John Buchan, vol. i. p. 44.

PART II

FROM GREAT BRITAIN'S ENTRY INTO THE GREAT
WAR TO THE DEATH OF KITCHENER

Vote 9.

ARMAMENTS, ENGINEER STORES, AND AVIATION.

I. AN ESTIMATE of the Sum which will be required in the Year ending 31st March, 1915, to defray the Expense of ARMAMENTS, ENGINEER STORES, and AVIATION, including Technical Committees.

One Million Seven Hundred and Thirty-two Thousand Pounds.

II. SUBHEADS under which this Vote will be accounted for.

	1914-15.	1913-14.	INCREASE.	DECREASE.
ARMAMENTS AND ENGINEER STORES.	£	£	£	£
A.—ORDNANCE BOARD	11,250	11,220	30	—
B.—RESEARCH DEPARTMENT	19,520	18,500	1,020	—
C.—EXPERIMENTAL ESTABLISHMENT	8,970	9,030	—	60
D.—ORDNANCE COLLEGE	27,100	26,610	490	—
E.—ROYAL ARTILLERY AND ROYAL ENGINEER COMMITTEES	1,140	1,120	20	—
F.—ROYAL ARTILLERY INSTITUTION, &c., AND ROYAL ENGINEER INSTITUTE	2,220	2,220	—	—
G.—INSPECTION OF WARLIKE AND ENGINEER STORES	167,800	166,300	1,500	—
H.—REWARDS TO INVENTORS	8,000	5,000	—	3,000
J.—GUNS AND CARRIAGES	145,000	169,000	—	24,000
K.—AMMUNITION	788,000	958,000	—	170,000
L.—SMALL ARMS	126,000	192,000	—	66,000
M.—TRANSPORT VEHICLES	98,000	61,000	37,000	—

(Photographic reproduction of part of p. 68, Army Estimates, 1914-1915.)

INTRODUCTION

WHEN reading Chapters X and XI it must be borne in mind that—

(i) Many of the most important movements of Kitchener during the Great War have had to be concealed from the public for military reasons ; no record of them is accessible to the present writers.

(ii) Apart from a few revelations (e.g. those of Mr. Winston Churchill and of Lord Haldane) the actions and ideas of his colleagues in the Cabinet are unknown, except to a small group of people.

(iii) Though the main events of the war can be ascertained with reasonable certainty, the strategy and tactics of the generals on both sides, and many of the details of the fighting, are to a very large extent still military secrets.

Under these circumstances judgment on Kitchener's conduct in the Great War should be suspended.

If, however, that is not the reader's view, he or she should bear in mind certain facts and considerations.

(1) The table on p. 413, compiled from the British Army Estimates, seems to prove that, in the matter of weapons and munitions, no adequate preparations had been made by the British Government between the end of the South African War and the beginning of the gigantic struggle which opened in July 1914.

For the year April 1, 1901—March 31, 1902 (virtually the last year of the South African War), £2,820,000 was spent on guns and carriages, £641,000 on rifles and other small arms, and £2,691,000 on ammunition.

For the years 1913-14 and 1914-15 the amounts allocated under these heads were—

	1913-14.	1914-15.
	£	£
Guns and carriages ...	169,000	145,000
Small arms ...	192,000	126,000
Ammunition ...	958,000	788,000

**NUMBER OF OFFICERS AND MEN ON THE REGIMENTAL
ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE ARMY, ARMY RESERVE,
SPECIAL RESERVE AND TERRITORIAL FORCES**

	ESTABLISHMENTS, All Ranks.		EFFECTIVES, All Ranks.	
	1914-15.	1913-14.	Numbers by latest returns.	Date of latest returns.
REGULAR FORCES (Regimental), Home and Colonial (including Regular Establishment of Special Reserve)	(a) 168,500	(a) 167,868	156,110	Jan. 1, 1914
COLONIAL AND NATIVE INDIAN CORPS	8,771	8,765	(b) 8,638	"
ARMY RESERVE	147,000	145,000	146,756	"
SPECIAL RESERVE (excluding Regular Establishment)	80,120	78,714	63,089	"
INDIA, UNITED KINGDOM	—	—	47	"
INDIA, RESERVE DIVISION	60	90	69	"
INDIA, CHANNEL ISLANDS (including Permanent Staff)	3,166	3,166	3,067	Oct. 1, 1913
INDIA, MALTA AND BERMUDA, AND BERMUDA VOLUNTEERS (including Per- manent Staff) (c)	2,894	2,894	2,703	Jan. 1, 1914
TERRITORIAL FORCE (including Permanent Staff) (c)	315,485	315,438	251,706	"
FORCE OF MAN VOLUNTEERS (including Permanent Staff)	126	126	119	"
OFFICERS' TRAINING CORPS (Officers and Permanent Staff)	1,110	1,099	795	"
TOTAL Home and Colonial Establishments (a)	727,232	723,160	633,099	
REGULAR FORCES (Regimental) and Indian Establishment	75,896	75,897	78,476	Jan. 1, 1914
TOTAL	803,128	799,057	(b) 711,575	

Exclusive of additional numbers to cover temporary and occasional excess of establishment.

Exclusive of 2,215 Indian troops borne in excess of establishments in connection with affairs in China.

Exclusive of Royal Engineer Adjutants, who are included under Regular Forces above.

As the reader will see from the photographic reproduction (see p. 408), the last-mentioned figures occur at p. 68 of the Army Estimates for the year April 1, 1914—March 31, 1915. It is notorious that in the first months of the war many recruits in the New Armies were trained with dummy rifles.

(2) The number of trained, or more or less trained, soldiers was, for 1914-15—as indicated on p. 11 of the same Estimates (see p. 411)—803,128 (estimated), of whom—

(a) The Regular Forces, Home and Colonial, numbered

168,500,

or at the most (see p. 12 of the Army Estimates),

186,400 ;

(b) The Regular Forces (Regimental) on Indian Establishment

75,896 ;

(c) The Army Reserve

147,000 ;

**EXPENDITURE ON GUNS AND CARRIAGES, SMALL ARMS, AND AMMUNITION, ACCORDING
TO THE ARMY ESTIMATES.***

	1901-2.	1902-3.	1903-4.	1904-5.	1905-6.	1906-7.	1907-8.
Guns and carriages	£ 2,820,000	£ 1,713,000	£ 1,064,000	£ 503,000	£ 854,000	£ 734,000	£ 285,000
Small arms	641,000	816,000	607,000	355,000	367,500	578,500	493,000
Ammunition	2,691,000	2,051,000	1,464,000	942,000	1,211,000	1,136,000	869,000

	1908-9.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.	1912-13.	1913-14.	1914-15.
Guns and carriages	£ 253,000	£ 424,000	£ 217,000	£ 140,600	£ 145,000	£ 169,000	£ 145,000
Small arms	536,000	415,000	338,000	260,000	215,000	192,000	126,000
Ammunition	680,000	747,000	816,500	940,000	1,095,000	958,000	788,000

* Between 1903 and 1908 the Horse and Field Artillery was rearmed at the cost of £2,340,000.

(*d*) The Special Reserve (excluding Regular Establishment)

80,120 ; and

(*e*) The Territorial Force

315,485.

What proportion of these troops was on August 5, 1914, immediately ready to take the field against the German Army has not been made public, but certainly the whole of "the Expeditionary Force of 162,000," referred to by Colonel Seely in his speech of March 10, 1914 (see p. 359), was not present at the Battle of Mons on August 23, 1914.

Sir John French commanded at that battle two Army Corps and the Cavalry Corps, or as Mr. Buchan—who is, we believe, an authority—states, "in round figures, about 75,000 men."¹

(3) According to Lord Esher (see pp. 338–9), Kitchener in 1911 had in writing warned him—and presumably by word of mouth or in writing, the British Government—that it was "puerile" to suppose that "in a war between France and Germany the decisive battles would be fought within the first fortnight of the outbreak of

¹ "Nelson's History of the War," vol. ii. p. 12.

hostilities, or that the presence of our six Divisions in the field at the crucial point, and at the earliest moment, was the essential element of success." Kitchener—again to quote Lord Esher—also said that "the war would be ended and victory achieved by the 'last million' of men that Great Britain could throw into the scale."

Lord Esher's statement as to Kitchener's views in 1911 has been confirmed by Mr. Winston Churchill, who has written—

"The fundamental uncertainty fluctuating from year to year and month to month which had pervaded the question of whether the great war would ever come or not, had always been in strong contrast to the very definite and precise opinions of military men about what would happen if it did. Almost all professional opinion was agreed that the struggle would be short, and that the first few weeks would be decisive. Not until Lord Kitchener appeared on the scene was the grim vista of years opened up.

The German generals believed profoundly that they would take Paris in a month, and they staked everything ruthlessly on this conviction. The French and

Russian staffs agreed in the view that the fate of France, and, consequently, the issue of the war, probably depended on the first main trial of strength in the west."¹

Whether "almost all professional opinion was agreed that the struggle would be short, and that the first few weeks would be decisive," may be reasonably doubted. Did Roberts, for example, hold that opinion? General von Bernhardi, apparently, did not contemplate so short a struggle. "We [Germans] shall be beset," he wrote in 1911, "by the greatest perils, and we can only emerge victoriously from this struggle against a world of hostile elements, and successfully carry through a Seven Years' war for our position as a World Power, if we gain a start on our probable enemy as *soldiers*";² and again, "we must prepare not only for a short war, but for a protracted campaign."³

Considering that no absolutely decisive battle

¹ *Sunday Pictorial*, July 30, 1916.

² "Germany and the Next War," translated by Allan H. Powles, pp. 13 and 14.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

was fought in the Manchurian Campaign of 1904-5, it was scarcely probable that the war would be short.

(4) "If plans and essential preparations," Kitchener had warned the Australian Government (see p. 319) in a document which, though not reprinted as a Parliamentary paper, was we suppose studied with attention by the British Ministers, "if plans and essential preparations have been deferred until an emergency arises, it will then be found too late to act, because *the strain of passing from peace to war will entirely absorb the energies of all engaged, even when every possible contingency has been foreseen.*" The italics are ours.

The great war has proved Kitchener to be right. To take one instance. General Hubert Hamilton, his Military Secretary in India, whom, perhaps, he would normally have liked to keep with him at the War Office, took part in the retreat from Mons and died at the opening of the Battle of Flanders. A complaint has been made that in the first part of the war Kitchener took too much on his shoulders. As this was contrary to the whole of his teaching (see pp. 298-9), the probability is that he

had no option in the matter. "Major-General Sir William Robertson," wrote Sir John French in his dispatch of September 9, 1914, describing the battle of and retreat from Mons, "has met what appeared to be almost insuperable difficulties with his characteristic energy, skill and determination."¹ Would it have been advisable that Sir William should have been at the War Office in August and September 1914?

Kitchener's conduct in 1914-16 should be compared, not with Napoleon's in 1805, Moltke's in 1866 and 1870, and Oyama's in 1904, but with Napoleon's in 1815, Lincoln's and McClellan's in 1861-2, and Gambetta's in 1870-1. Another standard of comparison is furnished by his own and Roberts' actions in the South African War.

(5) Kitchener in August 1914 was over 64 years old. Both Mr. Asquith and Mr. Churchill in his lifetime have said that he accepted the post of Secretary of State for War with great reluctance. His accident in India (see p. 194) had injuriously affected his constitution, and his eyesight (see p. 585) was impaired. The

¹ "Naval and Military Despatches," vol. i. p. 24.

officials at the War Office and the members of the Army Council and Staff had not been appointed by him.

(6) The extent to which he was personally responsible for the Cabinet's military policy was yet to be ascertained.

On November 2, 1915, Mr. Asquith, in the House of Commons, said—

“We have had since a very early period of the War a body fluctuating in number from time to time, and which has varied in name. Sometimes it has been called a ‘War Council,’ sometimes a ‘War Committee.’ Sometimes it has gone by other designations. It is a body to which either general questions of State or questions of strategy in particular areas and arenas have, by consent of the Cabinet, been referred. I have come to the conclusion, after now some fifteen months of experience, that it is desirable to maintain that system, but to limit still further the number of the body to whom what I may call the strategic conduct of the War is from time to time referred. I think, and my colleagues agree with me, that the Committee, or by whatever name it may be called, should be a body of not less than three, and perhaps not more than five in number, but with this important proviso that, whether it be three

or five, it should, of course, have power to summon to its deliberation and to its assistance the particular Minister concerned with the particular Departments whose special knowledge is needed, or is desirable, for the determination of each issue as it arises.”¹

The date when “the strategic conduct of the War” was first referred to a Committee, the names of the persons who formed the Committee, and the military or naval experience and knowledge possessed by them have not been revealed. Whether only members of the Cabinet were on the Committee, whether its policy was decided by a majority vote, and whether the Cabinet blindly accepted, or whether it modified, or negatived this Committee’s decisions are Government secrets.

On November 11, 1915, Mr. Asquith announced that, during Kitchener’s absence in the Near East, the War Committee would consist of himself, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. McKenna. That, with the exception of Mr. Churchill, no member of the Radical or Coalition Cabinet

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, vol. lxxv. pp. 525-6.

was qualified by experience or education to offer an opinion on technical military or naval matters, is unquestionable. If then, as appears certain, Kitchener was, on more than one occasion, overruled on a military question by the War Committee or by the Cabinet, the members of the Committee or Cabinet took upon themselves the gravest of responsibilities.

In the *National Review* for March 1916 (pp. 101-2) Mr. Leo Maxse published some statements of "a very able and experienced man of affairs with inside knowledge."

"On January 11, 1915," said (*i.a.*) Mr. Maxse's informant, "Lord Kitchener urged upon his colleagues the danger to Serbia of a German attack, the probability that Bulgaria would join the Central Powers if no action was taken, and urged the dispatch of a force to Salonika, and the seizure of the Salonika Railway. For this," continued Mr. Maxse's informant, "he contended during the whole month, but was finally overruled on January 22nd."

Whether the above statements are true or not we cannot say, but, from Mr. Winston

Churchill's admissions (see pp. 440-1, 481, 492-3), it would *seem* that much of Kitchener's most precious time was spent in argument with one of his colleagues, a colleague whose military experience, compared with his own, was insignificant.

It may be argued that, if Kitchener disapproved of any of the Cabinet's measures, he should have resigned. From his record we may be sure that it was not personal ambition which caused him to avoid taking that, apparently, obvious step.

(7) To conclude, Kitchener, as Secretary of State for War, was not under a Lord Cromer or Abraham Lincoln, but was in the position of Napoleon in 1815 and Chanzy in 1870-1. If he had been a free, or virtually a free agent, he would doubtless have tried to carry on the War according to his precedent of 1896-8, when, at a *cost of under* £2,500,000, he had extinguished the Khalifa's Empire.

In order that the strain put upon Kitchener may be realized—a strain under which he visibly aged—we have embodied in our narrative a brief diary of the Great War up to the

day of Kitchener's death. We have drawn our information (except in the case of the Antwerp Expedition, when he directly intervened in the conduct of a campaign) from such works as "*The Times* History of the War," "Nelson's History of the War" by Mr. John Buchan, and "*The Times* Diary of the War."

Our object has been, not to produce a comprehensive diary, but to remind the reader how numerous must have been the telegrams and the wireless and other messages received by Kitchener, and how complicated were the problems which he, who, in the previous years, had not been asked to prepare for a world-wide war, was called upon to solve in a few hours, or even minutes.

CHAPTER X

Secretary of State for War—Appeal for 100,000 recruits—Message to soldiers of the Expeditionary Force—His position in the Cabinet and conception of the War—Changes introduced—The New Armies—Difficulties of the War Office—On retreat from Mons—The Antwerp expedition—On Sir John French and General Joffre—"Present warfare approximating to siege operations" (November 1914)—Minister of War not a magician—Moral impulse needed—On Roberts—Censorship of the Press—General Botha and the South African Rebellion—The Serbian victories over the Austro-Hungarians.

1914, *Aug.* 5. Kitchener appointed Secretary of State for War.

The *Goeben* and *Breslau* at Messina.

Germans attack Liège.

Aug. 6. The House of Commons at Kitchener's request, conveyed through Mr. Asquith, sanctions increase of the Army by 500,000 men.

Aug. 7. Kitchener advertises for 100,000 recruits—

“Your King and Country Need You.

A Call to Arms.

An addition of 100,000 men to His Majesty's Regular Army is immediately necessary in the present grave National Emergency. Lord Kitchener is confident that this appeal will be at once responded to by all those who have the safety of our Empire at heart.

Terms of Service.

General Service for a period of 3 years or until the War is concluded.

Age of Enlistment between 19 and 30.

How to Join.

Full information can be obtained at any Post Office in the Kingdom or at any Military depot.

God Save the King!”¹

¹ *The Times*, August 7, 1914.

Kitchener receives Sir Edward Carson, Mr. John Redmond, and Mr. Devlin at the War Office, and visits the Admiralty.

French invade Upper Alsace.

Russians invade East Prussia.

The British Expeditionary Force begins to embark for France.¹ Each soldier carries with him the following message—

“ You are ordered abroad as a soldier of the King to help our French comrades against the invasion of a common enemy. You have to perform a task which will need your courage, your energy, your patience. Remember that the honour of the British Army depends on your individual conduct.

It will be your duty not only to set an example of discipline and perfect steadiness under fire, but also to maintain the most friendly relations with those whom you are helping in this struggle. The operations in

¹ There appears to have been opposition in the Cabinet to this step being taken. “Men of great power and influence, who have since during the struggle laboured tirelessly and rendered undoubted services, were found resolutely opposed to the landing of a single soldier on the Continent” (Mr. Winston Churchill. *Sunday Pictorial*, July 30, 1916).

which you are engaged will, for the most part, take place in a friendly country, and you can do your own country no better service than in showing yourself in France and Belgium in the true character of a British soldier.

Be invariably courteous, considerate, and kind. Never do anything likely to injure or destroy property, and always look upon looting as a disgraceful act. You are sure to meet with a welcome and to be trusted; your conduct must justify that welcome and that trust.

Your duty cannot be done unless your health is sound. So keep constantly on your guard against any excesses. In this new experience you may find temptations both in wine and women. You must entirely resist both temptations, and, while treating all women with perfect courtesy, you should avoid any intimacy.

Do your duty bravely,
Fear God,
Honour the King.

KITCHENER,
Field-Marshal." ¹

¹ *The Times*, August 19, 1914. The message is undated. We do not know when it was written.

Aug. 10.

"In the village below [a Belgian village] the saddest scenes; naturally many misunderstandings occurred because officers understood no French. There was terrible destruction; in one farmhouse was a woman who had been completely stripped, and who lay on burnt beams. There was, of course, reason for such procedure, but how savage!"¹

Austro-Hungarians invade Russian Poland.

The *Goeben* and *Breslau* enter the Dardanelles, and are "purchased" by Turkey.²

Aug. 12. Germans, with heavy artillery, bombard Liège forts.

Aug. 13. Kitchener tells the Cabinet he is preparing for a three years' war.³

Aug. 14. French invade German Lorraine.

¹ Diary of Stephan Luther, a German soldier. "Appendix to the Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages," p. 170.

² August 11 seems to be about the date when this so important event occurred.

³ *National Review*, March 1916, p. 102. Mr. Maxse's authority is the "very able and experienced man of affairs with inside knowledge" (see p. 421).

Aug. 16. Battle of Gumbinnen in East Prussia begins.

Aug. 17. Fall of the last of the Liége forts.

“Wine by the cask. We live like God in France. The villa of a Belgian general supplies everything.”¹

Battle of Shabatz ; Serbians defeat Austro-Hungarians.

Aug. 18.

“Apart from the German forces moving on France through the Belgian provinces of Luxemburg and Namur, there were at this date about 500,000 Germans marching on the left bank of the Meuse.”²

Belgian Army retires on Antwerp.

Aug. 20. Germans moving on the Uganda (Port Florence–Nairobi–Mombasa) railway in British East Africa.

Brussels occupied by the Germans.

¹ Diary of Stephan Luther.

² “L’Action de l’Armée Belge ; Rapport du Commandement de l’armée,” pp. 23–4.

Battle of Morhange ; French Army in German Lorraine badly defeated.

Kitchener tells the Cabinet that "main German attack would come upon the line Antwerp–Namur, and *not* through the Ardennes or the Vosges." ¹

End of Battle of Gumbinnen ; Russian victory in East Prussia.

Aug. 21. Great French offensive east of Verdun–Givet by armies of Ruffey and Langle de Cary.

Namur bombarded by German heavy artillery.

Kitchener foresees retirement of French and British forces in Belgium.²

Aug. 22. Ruffey and Langle de Cary, defeated, retreat towards the Meuse.

Meuse crossed by Von Hausen's troops between Givet and Namur.³

Bombardment of Namur continues ; collapse of some of the forts.

Battle of Charleroi ; Von Bülow defeats

¹ *National Review*, March 1916, p. 102.

² Ibid.

³ This, however, may have occurred the next day.

Lanrezac and forces passage of the Sambre above and below Charleroi.

British Expeditionary Force entrenching itself in and around Mons.

Austro-Hungarians driven across the Drina by the Serbians.

Aug. 23. Namur evacuated by Allies.

Battle of Mons ; Von Kluck attacks Sir John French ; strength of the British "in round figures, 75,000 men and 250 guns ;"¹ message received by Sir John about 5 p.m. from Joffre that Lanrezac was retreating and that at least three German corps were moving against British front, and another German corps turning Sir John's left wing.

"This meant that at least 150,000 of the enemy were attacking the Mons position. It seems all but certain that the numbers were even greater, and that Sir John, with his 70,000, or at most 80,000 men, had 200,000 Germans in his immediate front ; a victorious army pushing forward past his right flank in pursuit of the French ; and 40,000 or 50,000 more of the enemy sweeping round his left."²

¹ "Nelson's History of the War," by John Buchan, vol. ii. p. 12.

² Ibid., vol. ii. p. 35.

Retreat from Mons begins.

Japan declares war on Germany.

Aug. 24. Retreat of Allies from Mons, the Sambre, and Namur continues.

The Germans in Lunéville.

Russian offensive against Austro-Hungarians in Galicia developing.

Austro-Hungarians expelled from Serbia.

Aug. 25. British retiring on line Cambrai—Le Cateau—Landrecies; action of Landrecies.

Successful counter-offensive of de Castelnau and Dubail in Lorraine and the Vosges.

Fighting in Togoland.

Allies invade German Cameroons.

First speech of Kitchener in the House of Lords—

HIS POSITION.

“While associating myself in the fullest degree for the prosecution of the war with my colleagues in His Majesty’s Government, my position on this bench does not in any way

imply that I belong to any Political Party, for, as a soldier, I have no politics.

.

The terms of my service are the same as those under which some of the finest portions of our manhood, now so willingly stepping forward to join the Colours, are engaging—that is to say, for the war, or if it lasts longer than three years, then for three years. It has been asked why the latter limit has been fixed. It is because, should this disastrous war be prolonged—and no one can foretell with any certainty its duration—then after three years' war there will be others fresh and fully prepared to take our places and see this matter through.”¹

BRITISH FORCES AND THEIR GRADUAL INCREASE.

“While other countries engaged in this war have, under a system of compulsory service,

¹ The quotations from Lord Kitchener's speeches in the House of Lords have been taken from the reports published in the “Parliamentary Debates,” formerly “Hansard” series.

brought their full resources of men into the field, we, under our national system, have not done so, and can therefore still point to a vast reserve drawn from the resources both of the Mother Country and of the British Dominions across the seas. . . . In this country the Territorials are replying with loyalty to the stern call of duty, which has come to them with such exceptional force. Over seventy battalions have, with fine patriotism, already volunteered for service abroad, and when trained and organized in the larger formations will be able to take their places in the line. The 100,000 recruits for which, in the first place, it has been thought necessary to call have been already practically secured. This force will be trained and organized in divisions similar to those which are now serving on the Continent. Behind these we have our Reserves. The Special Reserve and the National Reserve have each their own part to play in the organization of our national defence.

The Empires with whom we are at war have called to the Colours almost their entire male population. The principle which we on our part shall observe is this—that while their

maximum force undergoes a constant diminution, the reinforcements we prepare shall steadily and increasingly flow out until we have an Army in the field which, in numbers not less than in quality, will not be unworthy of the power and responsibilities of the British Empire. I cannot at this stage say what will be the limits of the forces required, or what measures may eventually become necessary to supply and maintain them. The scale of the Field Army which we are now calling into being is large, and may rise in the course of the next six or seven months to a total of thirty divisions continually maintained in the field. But if the war should be protracted, and if its fortunes should be varied or adverse, exertions and sacrifices beyond any which have been demanded will be required from the whole nation and Empire, and where they are required we are sure they will not be denied to the extreme needs of the State by Parliament or the people."

Aug. 26. Battle of Le Cateau.

"On paper the extrication of Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien's force seemed in truth an

impossibility. Three British divisions, very imperfectly entrenched, were awaiting the onset of seven German divisions, flushed with uninterrupted victory and backed up by an overwhelming preponderance in artillery. Both flanks of the British force were practically in the air.”¹

Smith-Dorrien repulses Von Kluck, but retreat of Allies in North-West France continues.

Fall of the French Ministry; M. Viviani requested by French President to form a new one.

Battle of Tannenberg for possession of East Prussia begins; Von Hindenburg *v.* Samsonov.

Battle between Russians and Austro-Hungarians for Lemberg in Galicia opens.

Aug. 27. British Marines landed at Ostend.

The Expeditionary Force making towards the line Noyon–Chauny–La Fère.

Battles on the Meuse north of Verdun.

French counter-offensive in the Vosges.

Togoland surrendered by Germans.

Japanese begin attack on Kiao-chau.

¹ “The First Seven Divisions,” by Lord Ernest Hamilton, p. 58.

Aug. 28. Battle in the Bight of Heligoland; British victory.

German Samoa seized by New Zealanders.

Aug. 29. French counter-offensive in North-West France; Battle of Guise (defeat of Germans).

British a few miles north of line Compiègne-Soissons; their base shifted from Havre to St. Nazaire at mouth of Loire.¹

Fighting in French Lorraine.

Aug. 30. Taubes fly over Paris.

End of the Battle of Tannenberg; decisive German victory which leads to the expulsion of Russians from East Prussia.

Aug. 31. Battle of the Grand Couronné for Nancy begins.

¹ It has been stated that Kitchener ordered or assisted in the transfer of the British base from Havre to St. Nazaire and that about this date he was in France. "We were told one day that Lord Kitchener was at Le Havre and had ordered the evacuation of the big base by the British" ("A Surgeon in Khaki," by A. A. Martin, M.D., p. 23).

Sept. 1. Germans in Soissons.

Battle of Rethel ; Germans repulsed.

Sept. 3. General Galliéni (new Governor of Paris) announces that the French Government has left the capital.

Von Kluck suspends advance on Paris and moves south-eastwards on the Ourcq.

Sir John French's army south of the Marne.

Kitchener in France assisting Joffre.¹

Germans in Reims.

End of the Battle for Lemberg ; Austro-Hungarians, completely defeated by Russians, abandon the city.

Brigadier-General J. M. Stewart (with 29th Punjabis, a battalion of Imperial Service troops, a battery of Calcutta Volunteer Artillery, a battery of Maxim guns, and a mountain battery) arrives at Nairobi (British East Africa) and takes over command.²

¹ *National Review*, March 1916, p. 102.

² "Nelson's History of the War," vol. iii. pp. 164-5.

Sept. 5. Joffre orders a general offensive against Germans in France.

“The hour has come,” he says, “to advance at all costs, and to die where you stand rather than give way.”

Visit of Kitchener to sick and wounded in the London and St. Thomas's Hospitals.

“Do your best to get well quickly ; we are going to see this thing through and want every man.”¹

Sept. 6. Mr. Winston Churchill suggests to Kitchener that a Territorial Division should be sent to Antwerp.

“Of course, it is true that these operations [for relief of Antwerp] were begun too late. But that is not my fault. On the 6th September, nearly a month before, I drew the attention of the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for War, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the dangerous situation

¹ Words of Kitchener reported by *The Times*, September 7, 1914.

which was developing at Antwerp, and to the grave consequences to the Admiralty interests which would be entailed in the loss of that fortress. I suggested that a Territorial Division should be sent to stimulate the defence, and made other proposals of which I will say that the difficulty of adopting them was certainly not less than the need to adopt them. But no action was taken upon that, and the situation of 2nd October supervened. . . .”¹

Battle of the Marne (= Battle of the Ourcq—the Marne–Verdun–Toul–Nancy–St. Dié) begins.²

Violent attack on Grand Couronné position ; Kaiser Wilhelm II present.

Opening of the battle between the Vistula and the Upper Dniester ; Russians *v.* Austro-Hungarians.

Sept. 7. Maubeuge surrenders to Germans.
Second day of Battle of the Marne.

¹ Mr. Churchill in House of Commons, November 15, 1915. Parliamentary Debates, 1915, vol. 75, p. 1504.

² The Battle of the Ourcq began the day before ; the Battle of the Grand Couronné or of Nancy had been going on since August 31.

Von Hindenburg advances from East Prussia towards the Russian Niemen.

Sept. 8. Third day of Battle of the Marne ; success of de Castelnau in Battle of Nancy.

Austro-Hungarians attack Serbians on the Drina.

Sept. 9. Belgian sortie from Antwerp.

Fourth day of the Battle of the Marne ; Sir John French's Army north of the Marne ; Von Kluck begins his retreat from the Ourcq to the Aisne ; Foch, after temporary reverse, defeats Germans north of Sézanne.

Sept. 10. End of the Battle of the Marne ; Germans in full retreat, their right wing retiring on the Aisne.

End of the battle between the Vistula and the Upper Dniester ; Austro-Hungarians, defeated, retire on the San.

The *Emden* in the Bay of Bengal.

Sept. 12. French retake Lunéville and St. Dié.

Sept. 13. Battle of the Aisne opens.

Sept. 15. The race to the North Sea commences, the German right trying to outflank the Allied left wing, which, in its turn, endeavours to outflank the Germans and to effect a junction with the Belgian Army and the garrison of Antwerp.

Austro-Hungarians driven back by the Serbians across the Drina.

Sept. 17. Kitchener speaks in the House of Lords.

THE RETREAT FROM MONS.

“ I need not re-tell the story of the British Expeditionary Force in France which has been read and appreciated by us all in Sir John French’s Dispatch. The quiet restraint of his account of their achievements only brings into relief the qualities which enabled our troops successfully to carry out the most difficult of all military operations. There is, however, one aspect of this feat of arms upon which the Dispatch is naturally silent. I refer

to the consummate skill and calm courage of the Commander-in-Chief himself in the conduct of this strategic withdrawal in the face of vastly superior forces. His Majesty's Government appreciate to the full the value of the service which Sir John French has rendered to this country and to the cause of the Allies, and I may perhaps be permitted here and now, on their behalf, to pay a tribute to his leadership as well as to the marked ability of the Generals under his command and the bravery and endurance of the officers and men of the Expeditionary Force."

EXISTING FORCES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

"Although, therefore, we have good grounds for quiet confidence, it is only right that we should remind ourselves that the struggle is bound to be a long one and that it behoves us strenuously to prosecute our labours in developing our armed forces to carry on and bring to a successful issue the mighty conflict in which we are engaged. There are now in the field rather more than six Divisions of British troops and two Cavalry Divisions. These are

being, and will be, maintained at full strength by a steady flow of reinforcements. To meet the wastage of war in this Field Force our Reserve units are available. To augment the Expeditionary Force further Regular Divisions and additional Cavalry are now being organized from units withdrawn from stations overseas, whose places where necessary will be taken by Territorial troops, who, with fine patriotism, have volunteered to exchange a Home for an Imperial Service obligation.

On their way from India are certain Divisions from the Indian Army, composed of highly trained and very efficient troops, and a body of Cavalry including regiments of historic fame. The Dominions beyond the seas are sending us freely of their best. Several Divisions will be available, formed of men who have been locally trained in the light of the experience of the South African War, and, in the case of Australia and New Zealand, under the system of general national training introduced a few years ago. . . .

The whole of the Special Reserve and Extra Special Reserve units will be main-

tained at their full establishments as feeders to the Expeditionary Force."

THE TERRITORIALS AND ROYAL MARINES.

"The Territorial Force is making great strides in efficiency, and will before many months be ready to take a share in the campaign. This Force is proving its military value to the Empire by the willing subordination of personal feelings to the public good in the acceptance of whatever duty may be assigned to it in any portion of the Empire. A Division has already left for Egypt, a Brigade for Malta, and a Garrison for Gibraltar. The soldier-like qualities evinced by the Force are an assurance to the Government that they may count to the full upon its readiness to play its part wherever the exigencies of the military situation may demand. Nor must I omit to refer to the assistance which we shall receive from the Division of the gallant Royal Marines and Bluejackets now being organized by my right hon. friend the First Lord of the Admiralty. Their presence in

the field will be very welcome, for their fighting qualities are well known."

THE NEW ARMIES.

"In the response to the call for recruits for the new Armies which it is considered necessary to raise we have had a most remarkable demonstration of the energy and patriotism of the young men of this country. We propose to organize this splendid material into four new Armies, and although it takes time to train an Army the zeal and goodwill displayed will greatly simplify our task.

. . . No effort is being spared to meet the influx of soldiers, and the War Office will do its utmost to look after them and give them the efficient training necessary to enable them to join their comrades in the field. The Divisions of the first two Armies are now collected at our Training Centres; the Third Army is being formed on new camping grounds; the Fourth Army is being created by adding to the establishment of the Reserve battalions, from which the units will be detached and organized similarly to the other three Armies. . . .

In addition to the four new Armies, a considerable number of what may be designated local battalions have been specially raised by the public-spirited initiative of cities, towns or individuals. Several more are in course of formation, and I have received many offers of this character."

DIFFICULTIES OF THE WAR OFFICE.

(a) *Men.*

"If some of those who have so readily come forward have suffered inconvenience they will not, I am sure, allow their ardour to be damped. They will reflect that the War Office has had in a day to deal with as many recruits as were usually forthcoming in twelve months. . . .

The creation of the new Armies referred to is fraught with considerable difficulties, one of which is the provision of regimental officers. I hope the problem of supplying officers may be solved by the large numbers coming forward to fill vacancies and by promotions from the non-commissioned officer ranks of the Regular forces. In a country which

prides itself on its skill in, and love of, outdoor sports, we ought to be able to find sufficient young men who will train and qualify as officers under the guidance of the nucleus of trained officers which we are able to provide from India and elsewhere. If any retired officer competent to train troops has not yet applied, or has not received an answer to a previous application, I hope that he will communicate with me at the War Office in writing.

(b) *Matériel.*

But our chief difficulty is one of *matériel* rather than *personnel*. It would not be in the public interest that I should refer in greater detail to this question, beyond saying that strenuous endeavours are being made to cope with the unprecedented situation, and that thanks to the public spirit of all grades in the various industries affected, to whom we have appealed to co-operate with us and who are devoting all their energy to the task, our requirements will, I feel sure, be met with all possible speed."

Sept. 20. Kitchener visits Shorncliffe Camp.

Sept. 21. On the Allied left in France, Battle of Lassigny–Roye–Péronne begins.

Von Hindenburg reaches the Russian Niemen.

Sept. 22. Przemyśl in Galicia invested by Russians.

The *Emden* fires on Madras.

Kitchener about this date asks Queen Mary to supply 300,000 belts (knitted or woven) and 300,000 pairs of socks, to be ready for our troops early in November.¹

Sept 23.

“On the 23rd the four 6-inch howitzer batteries, which I had asked to be sent from home, arrived” (Sir John French on the Aisne).²

St. Mihiel on the Meuse captured by the Germans.

British troops arrive before Tsing-tau in Kiao-chau.

¹ *The Times*, September 23, 1914.

² “Naval and Military Despatches,” vol. i. p. 38.

Sept. 25. Failure of Von Hindenburg to cross the Niemen.

Sept. 26. Russians cross the San.

Sept. 27. Von Hindenburg again fails to cross the Niemen.

Sept. 28. Siege of Antwerp begins.

Von Hindenburg retreats ; Battle of Augustomo opens.

Brussilov seizes the Dukla Pass in the Carpathians, and threatens Hungary with invasion.

Sept. 30. French under de Maud'huy recover Arras.

"From September 30th onwards, we could not but observe that the enemy, already strongly posted on the plateau of Thiépval [south of Arras and north of Albert], was continually slipping his forces from south to north." ¹

¹ "The French Official Review of the First Six Months of the War as issued by Reuter's Agency," p. 23.

The Munitions Question.

According to Mr. Asquith, the question of meeting an enormous demand for war material had, as was natural, been considered by the Cabinet before the end of September 1914.

“As far back,” Mr. Asquith said in his speech at Newcastle on April 20, 1915, “as the month of September [1914], I appointed a Committee of the Cabinet, presided over by Lord Kitchener, to survey the situation from this point of view—a Committee whose labours and inquiries resulted in a very substantial enlargement both on the field and of machinery of supply.”¹

This Committee was doubtless the same as that referred to by Lord Haldane in his speech at the National Liberal Club on July 5, 1915.

“Gentlemen,” he said, “in the month of October [1914], when I was a member of the Government, there was a Committee assembled at the War Office. Lord Kitchener presided over it, and my learned friend, Mr. Lloyd George, was on it, and Mr. Churchill, and Mr. McKenna and various other Cabinet Ministers—and our attention was drawn to this, that it was urgently necessary to very much enlarge the amount

¹ *The Times*, April 21, 1915.

of the supply of munitions. The changed conditions of the war had brought out that something like ten times as much were required as we usually supplied in time of peace. Well, we had to consider how these were to be got. We consulted everybody. We consulted General von Donop, and at last we summoned—I tell you these things, because they have already been the subject of discussion in the Press—we summoned the great munition manufacturers, and we placed orders with them which they thought they could execute, and undertook to execute, and which if they had been carried out would have placed this country in a tremendous position as regards munitions. We should have had a great surplus.

The placing of these orders was done by us, and we were responsible for it, and the munition manufacturers did their very best to execute them. But there arose difficulties, difficulties in the relations between labour and capital, which confounded all calculations of the munition manufacturers, and that is a source of the trouble to-day.

It is not General von Donop. The industrial conditions in face of such a demand were such that the great munition manufacturers could not cope with it. They met with difficulties they knew nothing of.”¹

¹ *Daily Chronicle*, July 6, 1915. Three days after Lord Haldane delivered his speech, on July 8th, *The Times* published the following statement of Mr. Lloyd George—

“Lord Haldane’s version of what took place some months ago at a Committee of the Cabinet on arms is incomplete, and in some material respects inaccurate.”

Oct. 1. Belgian Army retiring from outer ring of Antwerp forts.

Two French cavalry corps ordered

“to put themselves in touch with the garrison of Dunkirk, which, on its side, had pushed forward as far as Douai.”¹

Austro-Hungarian fresh offensive against Serbians in progress.

Oct. 2. Battle of Arras–Lens begins; de Maud’huy’s army attacked by two cavalry corps, the Prussian Guards, four active army corps, and two reserve corps.²

A French army corps is being transported to the Lille district.³

Belgian Government “in the afternoon” telegraph to British Cabinet “their decision to evacuate Antwerp with the Field Army, to withdraw from the fortress, and practically abandon the defence.”⁴

¹ “The French Official Review of the First Six Months of the War as issued by Reuter’s Agency,” p. 23.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Mr. Winston Churchill. Parliamentary Debates, Commons, vol. lxxv. p. 1502. The telegram is not mentioned, or

Oct. 2-3. Midnight conference at Kitchener's house in Carlton House Terrace,¹ between Kitchener, Prince Louis of Battenberg, Mr. Winston Churchill, Sir Edward Grey, and others, on proposed expedition to Belgium.

"The project of sending a relieving army to the aid of Antwerp did not originate with me. It originated with Lord Kitchener and the French Government. I was not concerned or consulted in the arrangements until they had advanced a long way, and until large bodies of troops were actually moving, or under orders to move. On the night of the 2nd October, at midnight, I was summoned to a conference at Lord Kitchener's house, where my right hon. friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the First Sea Lord, and others were present. I then learned what, to some extent I knew from the telegrams, first, that plans for sending a relieving army to the aid of Antwerp were already far advanced, and were being concerted between Lord Kitchener and the French Government; that they had not

referred to in the Belgian official account of the transactions. See "*L'Action de l'Armée Belge, Rapport du Commandement de l'Armée*," pp. 54, 60.

¹ The house had been lent to him by Lady Wantage (*The Times*, June 7, 1916).

yet reached the point where definite offers and promises could be made to the Belgian Government; and that, meanwhile, that afternoon, the Belgian Government had telegraphed their decision to evacuate the city with the Field Army, to withdraw from the fort, and practically abandon the defence.

We were all extremely distressed at this. It seemed that at the moment when aid was available everything was going to be thrown away for the sake of three or four days' continued resistance. In these circumstances I offered—and I do not regret it a bit—to proceed to Antwerp at once, to tell the Belgian Government what was being done, to ascertain the situation on the spot, and to see in what way the defence could be prolonged, until either a relieving force could arrive, or the impossibility of sending a relieving force could be established. My colleagues accepted this offer on my part, and I crossed the Channel at once" (Mr. Winston Churchill).¹

Oct. 3. A Brigade of British Marines (2,200 strong) arrives in the evening at Antwerp.²

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, vol. lxxv. pp. 1501, 1502. Kitchener's account of the conference has not been published.

² "L'Action de l'Armée Belge, Rapport du Commande-

Commencement of the transfer of Sir John French's army from the Aisne to Flanders.

End of the Battle of Augustovo; Russians victorious.

Oct. 4. The Belgian Staff request that British troops should be dispatched to Ghent.¹

Mr. Winston Churchill arrives "about one o'clock" in Antwerp.²

ment de l'Armée," p. 55. "La veille, dans la soirée, une brigade de marine anglaise forte de 2,200 hommes était arrivée à Anvers. Le 4, elle releva la 1^{re} brigade mixte devant Lierre." Major-General Paris, in his dispatch of October 31, 1914 (*Supplement to the London Gazette*, December 5, 1914, p. 10406), says "the Brigade (2,200 all ranks) reached Antwerp during the night 3rd-4th October, and early on the 4th occupied, with the 7th Belgian Regiment, the trenches facing Lierre."

¹ "Dès le 4 octobre, le haut commandement . . . avait fait connaître d'urgence à l'Angleterre, qui se montrait disposée à prêter main-forte pour prolonger la défense d'Anvers, la nécessité de l'occupation de Gand. L'intervention de la 7^e division anglaise, débarquant sur la côte belge, avait été promise; des forces françaises devaient également participer au mouvement."—"L'Action de l'Armée Belge," etc., p. 60.

² "Nelson's History of the War," vol. iii. p. 185.

“Next day, having consulted with the Belgian Government and with the British Staff officers who were in Antwerp watching the progress of operations, I made a telegraphic proposal. I had to be extremely careful not to say anything on behalf of the British Government which would encourage the Belgians to resistance in the hope of getting help which we could not afterwards make good. But the proposal which I made may be briefly stated. It is all set out in the telegrams, and some day can be made public. It was as follows: The Belgians were to continue their resistance to the utmost limit of their power. The British and French Governments were to say within three days definitely whether they could send a relieving force or not, and what the dimensions of that force would be. In the event of their not being able to send a relieving force, the British Government were to send, in any case, to Ghent and to other points on the line of retreat, British troops sufficient to ensure the safe retirement of the Belgian Field Army, so that that Army would not be compromised through continuing resistance on the Antwerp fortress line. Incidentally we were to aid and encourage the defence of Antwerp by the sending of naval guns and Naval Brigades, and by other minor measures. This proposal I made, subject to confirmation on both sides. Nothing was

settled until both Governments accepted. The proposal was accepted by both Governments. I was informed by telegraph that a relieving Army would be sent, and its dimensions and composition were sent to me for communication to the Belgians. I was told to do everything possible to maintain the defence meanwhile. This I did without regard to consequences in any direction" (Mr. Winston Churchill).¹

Rear-Admiral Ronarc'h with, perhaps, 6,000 French Marines ordered to get ready to

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, vol. lxxv. pp. 1502-3. The reader who is inclined to condemn Mr. Churchill's actions should remember that the presence of the First Lord of the Admiralty in Antwerp was doubtless at once communicated by spies to the Germans; that the natural deduction to be drawn from such an extraordinary phenomenon as his proceeding from the Admiralty offices to Antwerp was that large forces from England were coming to assist the garrison; that the over-caution displayed by the German generals in their attempts to cut the retreat of the Belgian Army, which was one cause of that army's escape, may have been due to Mr. Churchill's intervention; lastly, that Mr. Churchill, at Antwerp, as on many occasions before the Great War, risked his own life when carrying out his plans. Cf. "*The Times* History of the War," vol. iii. pp. 12 and 13. For Kitchener's opinion on the effects of the prolongation of the defence of Antwerp, see *infra*, pp. 484-5.

leave the entrenched camp of Paris for Dunkirk.¹

De Maud'huy's army driven back in the Lens-Arras region ; Arras bombarded.

"On October 4th it was a question whether, in view of the enemy's activity both west of the Oise and south of the Somme and also further to the north, a retreat [of the Allied left wing in France] would not have to be made. General Joffre put this alternative firmly aside and ordered the offensive to be resumed. . . . In the Arras district the position was fairly good. But between the Oise and Arras we were holding our own with difficulty. Finally, to the north on the Lille-Estaires-Merville-Hazebrouck-Cassel front, our cavalry and our [French] territorials had their work cut out against eight divisions of German cavalry, with very strong infantry supports."²

Oct. 5. Two British Naval Brigades are moved to Antwerp.³

¹ "Dixmude, un chapitre de l'histoire des fusiliers marins," by M. Charles Le Goffic, p. 6. "L'ordre portait la date du 4 octobre." M. Le Goffic's work is based largely on the letters and diaries of French Marines who fought under Ronarc'h at Melle and Dixmude.

² "The French Official Review," etc., pp. 23-4.

³ "The two Naval Brigades reached Antwerp during the

“The decision to send the Naval Brigade was actually taken over here by the Government, at my desire; but the decision was actually taken here. I had no authority from Antwerp, where I was, but the quality of these brigades was known only to me. If there is any blame for putting troops of that character into a business of this kind, that blame falls on me, and on me alone. Let us see whether there was any blame. The situation was desperate and the need bitter. I knew that Lord Kitchener would not send a Territorial Division. I knew it would be wrong to lock up a Regular Division in a mere fortress line. These were the only men who were available. They were the nearest” (Mr. Winston Churchill).¹

Von Hindenburg preparing for or commencing the invasion of Russian Poland.

Oct. 6. The British 7th Infantry Division (Major-General Capper) which with the 3rd Cavalry Division (Major-General the Hon. Julian Byng) formed the 4th Corps, com-

night, 5th–6th October.”—Major-General Paris (*London Gazette Supplement*, December 5, 1914, p. 10406).

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, vol. lxxv. p. 1504.

manded by Sir Henry Rawlinson, begins to disembark at Zeebrugge and Ostend.¹

Byng's Cavalry Division sails from Southampton for Ostend and Zeebrugge.²

Rawlinson visits Antwerp.³

In the evening Belgian Army begins to evacuate Antwerp and its environs.⁴

Oct. 7. The whole of the Belgian Army is on the left bank of the Scheldt.

Germans force the passage of the Scheldt at Schoonaerde (west of the Dendre between Antwerp and Ghent).

¹ "Nelson's History of the War," by John Buchan, vol. iv. p. 33. Mr. C. Underwood, Interpreter to the Headquarters Staff of the 21st Brigade—part of Capper's Division—states (*Blackwood's Magazine*, March 1915, pp. 279-80) that "the whole of this Division [the 7th] left Southampton on Monday, October 5th," and was sent back to Dover "to wait there till the mines had been swept," and that "we arrived at Zeebrugge" on the 6th.

² Byng's "Order of the Day," November 23, 1914; "*The Times* History of the War," vol. iii. p. 170. The whole of the Order is reprinted in "Nelson's History of the War," vol. iv. pp. 261-71.

³ "Nelson's History of the War," by John Buchan, vol. iv. p. 35.

⁴ "L'action de l'Armée Belge," etc., p. 61.

King of the Belgians leaves Antwerp at 3 p.m.

Advanced parties of Germans between the Scheldt and Lys are signalled approaching southern environs of Ghent.

Germans in Ypres.¹

Rear-Admiral Ronarc'h with French Marines sailed from Paris to Dunkirk, where he receives orders to proceed to Antwerp.²

De Maud'huy's left prolonged to the region of La Bassée; cavalry combats between La Bassée and Armentières on the Lys.³

Oct. 7-8. At midnight the bombardment of Antwerp opens.

Oct. 8. "About 5 p.m." General de Guise (Governor of Antwerp) orders Belgian 2nd Division to evacuate Antwerp and consents to the British Naval Division leaving the city.

¹ "The Germans had been through [Ypres] and stayed one night, the 7th" (Mr. Underwood). There is evidence that they were in Ypres before the 7th.

² "Dixmude," etc., by Charles Le Goffic, p. 6. The text of the order to Ronarc'h is not given. Whether Antwerp was the destination fixed in it, may be doubted.

³ French Communiqué of October 7, 1914.

"About 7.30 p.m." the retirement of the British Naval Division begins.

The Germans marching on Lokeren (north of the Scheldt, between Antwerp and Ghent) are opposed by the Belgian 3rd Division.

Belgian 1st Division at St. Nicolas (between Lokeren and Antwerp) railed to Ostend; the remainder of the troops march on the Canal of Terneuzen, which from Ghent proceeds northwards into Dutch territory.

Ronarc'h and his Marines in the afternoon reach Ghent, where they are joined by units of Capper's Division; Ronarc'h meets General Pau, arrived from Antwerp.¹

Byng's Cavalry Division, "after a voyage not free from sensation,"² disembarks at Ostend and Zeebrugge.

German patrols at Cassel and Hazebrouck.³

Sir John French at Doullens consults with Foch (commanding French left wing) on em-

¹ "Dixmude," etc., by Charles Le Goffic, p. 8. General Pau, one of the best-known chiefs of the French Army, had commanded the forces which in the third week of the war successfully invaded Alsace.

² "Nelson's History of the War," vol. iv. p. 33.

³ "The Times History of the War, vol. ii. p. 505.

ployment of the British 2nd and 3rd Corps and Cavalry Corps in Flanders.

The Germans hold Douai and Lens, and are shelling Lille.¹

Oct. 9. Germans enter Antwerp, which formally capitulates the next day.

Considerable numbers of Belgians and British, retreating from Antwerp, are captured or driven on to Dutch territory, where they are interned.²

¹ "Nelson's History of the War," vol. iv. p. 22.

² "The Times History of the War" (vol. ii. p. 116), states that "some 20,000 Belgians crossed the Dutch frontier and were interned"; Mr. Buchan ("Nelson's History of the War," vol. iii. p. 195) says "about 18,000 of the Belgian troops were driven into Holland, and some, probably those who fought at Zele, were made prisoners by the Germans." The British losses, according to Major-General Paris, were "approximately" as follows:—

			Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Royal Marine Brigade	...	...	23	103	388
1st and 2nd Naval Brigades	...	...	5	64	2,040
			—	—	—
Totals	...	...	28	167	2,428
Mr. Buchan's figures are	...	...	37	193	(c.) 2,560

"Colonel Seely and Colonel Bridges," also says Major-General Paris, "were not part of my command, but they rendered most skilful and helpful services during the evacuation."

Mass of the Belgian Army is in the morning west of Ghent—Terneuzen Canal.

Two German divisions (one of Ersatz, the other of Landwehr) move, south of the Scheldt, on Ghent; but Ghent and its approaches from the east and south-east are now occupied by from 25,000 to 30,000 Allied troops;¹ Ronarc'h's Marines, with the help of Belgian artillery, repulse Germans at Melle (south-east of Ghent).

Byng's Cavalry Division at Bruges.

Cavalry combats north of La Bassée and Lille; battle continuing on the line Lens—Arras—Chaulnes—Roye—Lassigny.²

End of Russian offensive in East Prussia.

Oct. 10. As the German Army which besieged Antwerp is now released and divisions of it are marching westwards, and as four German reserve corps, newly incorporated, have entered Belgium, it is decided to withdraw the rear portion of the Belgian Army, and with it Ronarc'h's Marines and Capper's Division, from Ghent and the

¹ "L'action de l'Armée Belge," etc., p. 62.

² French Communiqué, October 9th, 3 p.m.

Ghent–Terneuzen Canal.¹ Belgians begin to be railed or marched into the zone Thourout–Dixmude–Nieuport.²

Orders sent “by their Governments” to Ronarc’h and Capper to evacuate Ghent at 5 p.m.³

Renewal before daybreak of the action at Melle; Ronarc’h’s Marines repulse the Germans—at noon and at 5 p.m. the Germans again attack and are again repulsed.⁴

Byng’s Cavalry Division moves from Bruges to Thourout and Ruddervoorde.

Cavalry combats in the triangle La Bassée–Armentières–Cassel;⁵ according to Germans, a division of French cavalry is beaten at Hazebrouck;⁶ German cavalry, dislodged by

¹ “L’action de l’Armée Belge,” etc., p. 64.

² “La Campagne de l’Armée Belge,” etc., p. 110. ³ Ibid.

⁴ “Dixmude,” etc., by Charles Le Goffic, pp. 23–7; “La Campagne de l’Armée Belge,” etc., p. 110. In the latter work the attack at noon is not mentioned. The heroism displayed by Ronarc’h’s Marines, most of whom had never been in action before the 9th, both here and on the Yser, was extraordinary.

⁵ French Communiqué, October 10, 1914, 3 p.m.

⁶ German Communiqué, October 11, 1914. “Recueil des Communiqués Officiels” (Paris, Libraire Payot), Série iv. p. 121.

French cavalry from the crossings of the Lys east of Aire, retires into the Armentières region.¹

British Cavalry Corps (General Allenby) is arriving on the west of the Forest of Nieppe (north of the Aire-Béthune-La Bassée Canal).

British 2nd Corps (General Smith-Dorrien) from Abbeville is moving up to that canal.

Von Hindenburg's troops enter Lodz in Russian Poland.

Austro-Hungarians attacking Russians investing Przemyśl.

Oct. 11. Ronarc'h ordered to evacuate Ghent at 7 p.m., Capper at 9 p.m.; at 8 p.m. Capper's Division is attacked; it repulses the enemy; Capper begins his retreat at 9 p.m.²

¹ French Communiqué, October 11, 1914, 3 p.m.

² "La Campagne de l'Armée Belge," etc., pp. 110-11. At some date not indicated in his despatch, Sir John French received "telegraphic instructions" from Kitchener placing Capper's and Byng's Divisions (the 4th Corps) at his disposal. Kitchener must have done this before the 16th October.

Belgian cavalry covers retreat of Belgians and Franco-British.

Battle of Flanders (the Yser–Ypres–Armentières–La Bassée) opens.

(1) French troops from the region between St. Omer and Dunkirk march on Poperinghe, Vlamertinghe, and Ypres.¹

(2) By nightfall the British 3rd Corps (General Pulteney) completes its detrainment at St. Omer and is moved to Hazebrouck.

(3) Portion of the Cavalry Corps clears the Germans from the Forest de Nieppe and joins hands in the region of Hazebrouck with cavalry attached to the 3rd Corps.

(4) Smith-Dorrien's 2nd Corps is on the Aire–Béthune–La Bassée Canal banks.

¹ This is an inference from Sir John French's statements that on the 16th the 87th French Territorial Division was in Ypres and Vlamertinghe and the 89th French Territorial Division at Poperinghe, and that on the 17th four French Cavalry Divisions were operating in the Forêt d'Houthulst. "That evening [October 14th] I met Capitaine Bernaud of the 79th Reserve Regiment, and saw our first lot of Allies, reserve dragoons, dismounted on the square [at Ypres] to receive us" (Mr. Underwood).

Oct. 12. The retreating Belgians and Franco-British troops are all west of the Schipdonck Canal.¹

Ronarc'h's Marines reach Thielt at 4 p.m., Capper's Division at 6 p.m.²

Byng's Cavalry Division moves southwards to the line Oostnieuwkerke-Roulers-Rumbeke-Iseghem.

Battle of Flanders continues.

(1) French troops moving into the Ypres region.

(2) Allenby (Cavalry Corps) advancing north and east of Pulteney (3rd Corps) to attack Germans on ridge of the Mont des Cats.³

(3) Pulteney remains at Hazebrouck.

(4) Smith-Dorrien's left advances on the Lys at Merville, his right connects

¹ "La Campagne de l'Armée Belge," etc., p. 111.

² "Dixmude," etc., by Charles Le Goffic, p. 45.

³ This ridge, rising out of the plain, runs south of and parallel with the Poperinghe-Ypres road. At its eastern end are the celebrated villages of Wytschaete and Messines. "The ridge was of cardinal importance to the Allies" "*The Times History of the War*," vol. iii. p. 448).

up with de Maud'huy's left. Smith-Dorrien, owing to the nature of the country, makes little progress.

Germans attacking between Lassigny and Roye.

Announcement that the Siege of Przemyśl has been raised by Austro-Hungarians.¹

Oct. 13. Belgian Army on the line Eerneghem-Wynendaele.

Ronarc'h reaches Thourout at 3 p.m.

Capper to his east proceeds to Roulers.

Byng's cavalry reconnoitre towards Ypres and Menin on the Lys, with patrols towards Comines and Wervicq; they withdraw in the evening to the line Dadizeele-Iseghem.

Battle of Flanders continues.

(1) French troops marching on Ypres.²

(2) Allenby's cavalry on the ridge of the Mont des Cats.

¹ Austro-Hungarian Communiqué, October 12, 1914.

² We have not yet ascertained when Ypres was occupied by the Allies; Byng's cavalry reached it the next day at 9 a.m.

(3) Pulteney drives Germans from Meteren, south of the ridge, and marches on Bailleul.

(4) French Cavalry Corps under General Conneau is filling gap between Pulteney and Smith-Dorrien.

(5) Smith-Dorrien, pivoting on Givenchy, is threatening "the right flank and rear of enemy's position on the high ground south of La Bassée."¹

Lille taken by the Germans.

Maritz's rebellion beginning in South Africa.

Oct. 14. Germans enter Bruges and army under the Duke of Würtemberg reaches line Bruges-Thielt.

Belgian Army retiring on the Yser.

Ronarc'h's Marines round Cortemarck.

Capper's Division to Ypres.²

¹ Sir John French.

² "The immortal 7th Division reached Ypres from Dixmude at midday and went into billets" ("The First Seven Divisions," by Lord Ernest W. Hamilton, p. 145).

Byng's cavalry at about 9 a.m. rides through Ypres to the north-eastern and eastern end of Mont des Cats ridge, and at dusk halts in Kemmel and Wytschaete.

Battle of Flanders continues.

(1) French troops in Ypres.

(2) Allenby's cavalry clears Germans from high ground round Berthen on western end of Mont des Cats ridge.

(3) Pulteney moves to the line St. Jans Cappel (south of Berthen)—Bailleul.

(4) Smith-Dorrien's corps heavily engaged; General Hubert Hamilton killed.

Oct. 15. Belgian Army and Ronarc'h's Marines on the Yser and Yperlee Canal entrenching themselves.

Germans with General von der Goltz enter Ostend.

Capper moving out of Ypres to the line Zonnebeke—Gheluvelt—Zandvoorde.

Byng remains at Kemmel and Wytschaete.

Battle of Flanders continues.

(1) Two French Territorial Divisions

in the Ypres region, and four Cavalry Divisions under General de Mitry, arrive or are arriving.

(2) Allenby reconnoitring line of the Lys below Armentières.

(3) Pulteney advances to the Lys between Armentières and Sailly (west of Armentières).

(4) Smith-Dorrien establishes himself on the line Pont de Ham–Croix Barbeé.

Battle of the Vistula begins.

Oct. 16. Germans reconnoitre Belgian-French position on the Yser; attack on Ronarc'h at Dixmude fails.

Germans enter Forêt d'Houthulst and Oost-nieuwkerke.

Byng's cavalry moves through Ypres to line Bixschoote (on Yperlee Canal)–Poelcapelle; at nightfall they are relieved by French troops and go eastward to line Passchendaele–Zonnebeke.

Capper's Division deployed from Zonnebeke to Zandvoorde.

Battle of Flanders continues.

(1) Allenby's cavalry in face of strong opposition reconnoitring the Lys passages below Armentières.

(2) Pulteney takes Armentières (October 16), and at nightfall (October 17) is astride the Lys with his left at Le Gheir (east of the wood of Ploegsteert), and right, south of the Lys at Bois Grenier.

(3) Conneau's cavalry between Pulteney and Smith-Dorrien.

(4) Smith-Dorrien's left on October 16 fights its way to outskirts of the village of Aubers, and (October 17) takes Aubers and Herlies.

Oct. 18. Battle of the Yser opens ; Belgian right wing (replaced by French Territorials) withdrawn from the Yperlee Canal northwards behind the Yser ; British flotilla assists Belgian left wing.

Battle of Ypres-La Bassée begins.

(1) French occupy Roulers.

(2) Rawlinson with 4th Corps advances towards Menin.

(3) Smith-Dorrien violently attacked,

Oct. 19. Battle of the Yser continues.

Battle of Ypres—La Bassée continues.

- (1) French driven from Roulers.
- (2) Rawlinson retires to the line Zonnebeke—Zandvoorde.
- (3) Smith-Dorrien attacked by very superior numbers.

Haig's British 1st Corps from the Aisne concentrated between St. Omer and Hazebrouck.

Lahore Division of Indian Expeditionary Force concentrating behind Smith-Dorrien's Corps.

Von Hindenburg repulsed before Warsaw.

Oct. 21. Joffre in Flanders.

Battle of the Yser continuing ; violent bombardment by Germans of the whole Allied line ; it is arranged that the Belgian right wing shall not extend southwards beyond St. Jacques-Capelle (south of and near to Dixmude).

Battle of Ypres—La Bassée continuing—

(1) Haig attacks to gain line Poelcappelle—Passchendaele, but, owing to withdrawal of De Mitry's Corps on his left and to the pressure of Germans on Rawlinson's Corps and 2nd Cavalry Division on his right, halts on line Bixschoote—Zonnebeke.

(2) The 2nd Cavalry Division driven back to between Messines and Hollebeke (on the Ypres—Comines Canal).

(3) The 3rd Corps (Pulteney) repulses German attacks and recovers Le Gheir, lost the day before.

(4) Smith-Dorrien on the defensive.

“It now became clear to me that the utmost we could do . . . was to maintain our present very extended front, and to hold fast our positions until French reinforcements could arrive from the south” (Sir John French).¹

Oct. 22. Seventh Indian Infantry Brigade

¹ “Naval and Military Despatches,” vol. i. p. 74.

(Lahore Division), less one battalion, sent to support of cavalry corps, south of Ypres.

Smith-Dorrien during the night withdraws his line to "a position he had previously prepared, running generally from the eastern side of Givenchy, east of Neuve Chapelle, to Fauquissart."¹

Oct. 23. French 42nd Division reinforces Belgians on the Yser.

Oct. 24. French 9th Corps reinforces British in the Ypres salient.

Oct. 25. Battle of the Yser continuing; Germans at places on west bank of canal; it is decided by the Allied leaders to inundate the region west of the Yser.

Battle of Ypres-La Bassée continuing; British and French on the defensive; remainder of Lahore Division reinforces Smith-Dorrien.

¹ "Naval and Military Despatches," vol. i. p. 68.

Von Hindenburg in retreat from the Vistula.
Austro-Hungarians retiring from the Vistula
and in Galicia.

Oct. 27. Germans take Neuve Chapelle.

Oct. 29. Turkey joins the Teutonic Allies ;
British hold on the Suez Canal and Egypt, and
British interests (Anglo-Persian Oil Company's
pipe-line, etc.) in Persia threatened.

Oct 30. Lord Fisher succeeds Prince Louis
of Battenberg as First Sea Lord.

Oct. 31. End of the Battle of the Yser ;
Germans defeated.

Battle of Ypres—La Bassée continuing ; the
most critical day.

(1) Haig's line pierced at Gheluvelt.
2nd Worcestershire Regiment retakes
Gheluvelt ; Germans finally repulsed.

(2) "It now fell to the lot of the
Cavalry Corps, which had been much

weakened by constant fighting, to oppose the advance of two nearly fresh German Army Corps for a period of over forty-eight hours, pending the arrival of a French reinforcement" (Sir John French).

(3) First employment of British Territorial Infantry (London Scottish) in fighting on European Continent.

(4) French 16th Corps arriving ; in the next days, with Conneau's Cavalry Corps, it attacks and counter-attacks south of Ypres.¹

¹ According to the "French Official Review of the First Six Months of the War," the French Army of Belgium between October 27 and November 11, 1914, was reinforced (p. 26) by "the equivalent in value to five army corps, a division of cavalry, a territorial division, and sixteen regiments of cavalry, plus sixty pieces of heavy artillery." Whether the 9th Corps and the 42nd Division are included in this calculation seems uncertain. There is no doubt that the victories of the Yser and Ypres-La Bassée were largely due to the French, who, in addition, had to hold the whole of the trenches from the west of La Bassée to the frontiers of Switzerland. The important part played by the Indian Expeditionary Force in the Battle of Ypres-La Bassée, must, also, not be forgotten.

(5) Meerut Division, Secunderabad Cavalry Brigade, and Jodhpur Lancers moving up to the support of, and to relieve part of Smith-Dorrien's Corps.

Nov. 1. Battle off Coronel; Admiral Craddock's squadron in Pacific defeated by Von Spee; *Good Hope* and *Monmouth* sunk.

Battle of Ypres—La Bassée continuing; Germans in Messines.

Nov. 3. Germans bombard Yarmouth.

Allied fleet bombards Dardanelles forts.

"As early as 3rd November [1914] . . . we obtained from the War Office their appreciation of the number of troops necessary to seize the Gallipoli Peninsula by a joint amphibious *coup de main*" (Mr. Winston Churchill).¹

Austro-Hungarians again invade Serbia.

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, vol. lxxv. p. 1506. It will be seen that as early as November 3, 1914, the Gallipoli expedition was being contemplated—at all events by Mr. Churchill.

Russians invade Asiatic Turkey.

Nov. 7. Kiao-chau surrendered to Japanese and British.

About this date Indian Government begins Mesopotamian campaign.

Nov. 9. The *Emden* put out of action by the *Sydney*.

Kitchener speaks at the Guildhall.

CHANGED CONDITIONS OF WARFARE.

“The development of armaments has modified the application of the old principles of strategy and tactics, and reduced the present warfare to something approximating to siege operations.”

GENERAL JOFFRE.

“Under the direction of General Joffre, who is not only a great military leader but a great man, we may confidently rely on the ultimate success of the Allied forces in the Western Theatre of War.”

MINISTER OF WAR NOT A MAGICIAN.

“Armies cannot be called together as with a magician’s wand, and in the process of formation there may have been discomforts, and inconveniences, and in some cases downright suffering. . . . The men who come forward must remember that they are enduring for their country’s sake just as their comrades are in the shell-torn trenches.”

MORAL IMPULSE NEEDED.

“The British Empire is now fighting for its existence. I want every citizen to understand this cardinal fact, for only from a clear conception of the vast importance of the issue at stake can come the great national, moral impulse without which Governments, War Ministers, and even Navies and Armies can do but little.”

MEN NEEDED.

“I shall want more men and still more until the enemy is crushed.”¹

¹ *The Times*, November 10, 1914.

Nov. 10. Germans take Dixmude.

Nov. 11. Charge and defeat of two divisions of Prussian Guards in the Ypres salient.

KITCHENER ON THE ANTWERP EXPEDITION
AND BATTLE OF FLANDERS.

“I think it may not be undesirable if I briefly allude to some of the salient features of the campaign since early in October. In France the German Army was then attempting an outflanking movement to the north of the French lines, and our troops were being transferred to the left flank of the French forces in order to prevent the enemy from pushing West, and thus threatening Dunkirk and Calais. The Germans were also besieging Antwerp and, owing to the overwhelming superiority of their heavy artillery which had been brought into action against that place, it soon became manifest that the comparatively out-of-date fortifications of Antwerp would not be able to resist much longer, and though the fall of the town was delayed, and the gallant

Belgian garrison was safely removed by British efforts, Antwerp was occupied by the Germans on October 9. With their flank and rear thus secured the German forces were pushed rapidly forward in considerable strength, their objective being to capture the northern coasts of France. But the delay which had been caused in the release of the besieging forces in front of Antwerp just gave time for Sir John French, by a bold forward march and by taking up an extended position from La Bassée to Dixmude, to meet this German movement and prevent the Germans from obtaining their objective.

At this period Sir John French's force was increased by an Infantry and a Cavalry Division from England. Very severe fighting took place for several days, as the Germans, in considerably superior forces, vigorously attacked our left line of defence. As an instance I may state that our Cavalry Divisions, extended for seven miles of front in trenches, threw back the fierce attacks of a whole German Army Corps for more than two days. The arrival of the Indian Divisions on the scene was of great assistance to Sir John French,

and with French reinforcements which were being pushed up to the front the Germans gradually realized that their public boast to advance to Calais resembled closely their statement with regard to Paris. During all this time the long line from Lille to Verdun was maintained intact by our French Allies against constant attacks from the German forces. The French Army have shown the greatest tenacity and endurance, and have displayed the highest fighting qualities in thus defending their positions against any advance of the Germans. For although they have made notable advances at various points, they have never yielded up a yard of their country since I last addressed your Lordships.

On our left, the gallant Belgian Army held the line from Dixmude to the sea and fought with their well-known pluck, throwing back vigorous and incessant attacks on their positions. Their fine resistance was supported with energy by the co-operation of our Fleet, which effectively shelled the German positions within range of our guns. Through the whole of the period I am now reviewing, the Belgian Army has been constantly led in the field by

their King, who, though hard pressed, has never yet left Belgian territory, and does not intend to do so. Sir John French's successful resistance to the German advance was maintained notwithstanding German supports being pushed up in large numbers. At this time no less than eleven corps were attacking his position. At this critical period the 8th Division was dispatched to join our forces in the field, and the valuable co-operation of General Foch's armies on our left materially strengthened the British position. On November 11 a supreme effort was made by the Germans, the Prussian Guard being ordered to force its way through our lines at all costs and to carry them by sheer weight of numbers. But this desperate attempt failed, as had failed its predecessors.

General Joffre having sent up strong reinforcements, a considerable portion of the British trenches in front of Ypres was taken over by them, and the British front being thus appreciably shortened our troops—which for over fourteen days and nights had never left the trenches, and never allowed the enemy to sustain a footing in them—have been enabled

to enjoy a partial but most certainly well-earned rest. Several battalions of Territorial troops have joined Sir John French's forces, and have made their presence felt. Our losses, naturally, have been very heavy during such strenuous fighting, but they are slight in comparison with those inflicted on the enemy. Reinforcements have replaced our casualties, and the troops under Sir John French are now refitted, in the best of spirits, and confident of success under their leader." ¹

Von Hindenburg again advances on Warsaw.

Russians approaching Cracow and in the Carpathians.

Nov. 12. Przemyśl reinvested by Russians.

¹ Speech in the House of Lords, November 26, 1914. The vagueness of the references to the part played by the French in the Battle of Flanders was probably intentional. It was to the interest of the Allies on November 26, 1914—the date of the speech—that the Germans should have as little information on the point as possible. "Lille" must have been a slip. As we have seen, the Germans took Lille on October 13. Sir John French, it will be remembered, stated that the Cavalry Corps opposed for forty-eight hours *two* German Army Corps.

Nov. 14. Death of Roberts.

"It was just two nights before his death that he arrived at St. Omer, and it was late in the evening when I urged him to retire to rest after his long and tiring journey, and in view of the hard day's work that lay before him on the morrow. We were then in the midst of important and critical operations, and it was my custom to hold a conference with the General Staff and reporting officers at midnight when the military situation, as it had developed in the day, was carefully discussed. These conferences sometimes lasted two hours. I happened to have told the Field-Marshal about it, and when I urged him to rest, he said: 'Oh no, I must wait for the conference, and I wish you to let me be present.' And this he persisted in. He followed every word that was uttered and every line on the maps with the keenest interest and a rare intelligence, and although he did not lie down until the small hours he was up to join his old Indian comrades the first thing in the morning" (Lord French).¹

Nov. 17. Kitchener in the House of Lords pays a tribute to the memory of Roberts.

¹ Speech at Glasgow, August 21, 1916. *Morning Post*, August 22, 1916.

“ He would himself, I feel sure, have wished for no happier end than to pass away, the greatest soldier of our day, in the midst of the greatest Army the Empire has ever put into the field, with the sound of the shells and the cheers of his comrades still ringing in his ears. . . . He was one of the most tried and proven leaders of men the British race has ever produced, and the country at the present crisis can ill afford to lose the services of so eminent a military adviser. . . . I, more than most men, had occasion to learn and admire his qualities of head and heart ; his ripe experience and sage counsel were fully and freely offered to me to the end. To us soldiers, the record of his life will ever be a cherished possession. We mourn his loss, but hope to profit by his illustrious example.”

Nov. 20. Germans invade Uganda.

Nov. 21. Skirmish between British and Turks east of Suez Canal.

Nov. 22. Basra (at junction of Tigris and Euphrates) occupied by Anglo-Indian force.

Nov. 26. Speech of Kitchener in the House of Lords.

CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS.

"It is not always easy to decide what information may or may not be dangerous, and whenever there is any doubt we do not hesitate to prevent publication. It must be remembered that in this war our troops form part of a much larger force engaged in the same campaign, and the dissemination of news in regard to one part of the forces must affect the whole. It is, therefore, the Commander-in-Chief of the whole Allied Army, General Joffre, who is the man responsible in this and every other matter connected with the operations of the Army in the field. And I feel in the strongest possible way that it is my duty loyally to co-operate with him and to see that his wishes are carried out. Subject, however, to these considerations, I recognize that it is in the highest degree desirable that news from the front which can be circulated without detriment to the military position should be communicated to the country, and it has

always been my aim, while regarding military considerations as paramount, to facilitate the circulation of all news which can be given with safety. I feel confident that the public will respond to the call which we have to make upon their patience and moderation with that grit which has always been the pride of the British nation, and will realize that such reticence as is preserved by the other combatants is imperatively demanded of them in the interests of their Armies."

Nov. 27. Russians beginning to evacuate Lodz (in Russian Poland).

Nov. 30.

"On 30th November I sent a Minute to my Noble Friend Lord Kitchener offering to congregate transports for 40,000 men—that is to say, sufficient for the first echelon of an Army for the purpose in Egypt, on the chance of their being wanted, as I could see that the situation was developing in the direction of an attack in the Eastern Mediterranean on the Turkish Empire. We were informed that no arms were available; and, further, in the early discussions which took place among us, and also at the War Council,

it was clearly the opinion that, even were they available, they should not be used for attacking the Gallipoli Peninsula. On the other hand, the need for action in the Eastern Mediterranean was constantly pressed upon us from many quarters" (Mr. Winston Churchill).¹

Dec. 1. Austro-Hungarians take Belgrade, the capital of Serbia.

De Wet captured.

Dec. 2. Kitchener meets the King at Hazebrouck, and, with President Poincaré, General Joffre, King Albert, Lord French, and the Mayor of Hazebrouck, visits the Expeditionary Force.

Dec. 6. Von Hindenburg's troops enter Lodz.

Serbians defeat Austro-Hungarians in the Battle of the Ridges.

Dec. 8. Rebellion in South Africa at an end.

Battle of the Falkland Isles ; Sturdee destroys Von Spee's squadron.

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, vol. lxxv. p. 1506.

Dec. 15. Serbians retake Belgrade.

Dec. 16. Kitchener attends on the King at Winchester and inspects the 27th Division.

German cruisers bombard Scarborough and Hartlepool.

Dec. 25 (circa). Von Hindenburg has again failed to take Warsaw; the Russians have failed before Cracow.

Russians seize Dukla Pass in the Carpathians.

1915, *Jan. 1.* The Turks defeated by Russians in the Battle of the Caucasus (December 28, 1914, to January 1, 1915).

Jan. 6. Kitchener speaks in the House of Lords.

GENERAL BOTHA AND SOUTH AFRICAN REBELLION.

“Since I last spoke in this House the situation in South Africa has undergone a most welcome change. The sinister threat of a widespread rebellion, so cunningly planned

and fostered by our enemies, has disappeared before the loyal and prompt action of General Botha and his Ministry. General Botha handled the military situation in a masterly manner which calls for unqualified praise and in a very short time stamped out the rebellion—if, indeed, it is not an exaggeration to apply such a term to the misguided action of a section of the population. This result gives us great confidence in the future success of any operations the General may undertake.”

THE SERBIANS.

“One of the brightest spots in the military operations during December has been the extraordinary achievement of the gallant Serbian Army. At the end of November their situation was very critical. The Serbian forces in their retreat had been obliged to evacuate a considerable portion of their territory. Belgrade was occupied on December 1st by the Austrians, who were then making strenuous efforts to turn the left wing of the Serbian Army. Suddenly the Serbians assumed the offensive all along the line with

startling success and completely routed the Austrian forces in a way which evoked our highest admiration. Belgrade was re-occupied by this gallant Army exactly a fortnight after its capture by the Austrians. In these operations the Austrians suffered very heavy losses both in men and material, and the signal defeat of four or five Austrian corps by their valiant opponents cannot fail to have had a demoralizing effect both throughout the military forces of the Dual Monarchy and amongst its civilian population. Meanwhile, the Montenegrin Army had advanced into Bosnia and captured important positions in the face of considerable Austrian opposition."

Jan. 11. Kitchener "urges upon his colleagues the danger to Serbia of a German attack, the probability that Bulgaria would join the Central Powers, if no action was taken, and urges the dispatch of a force to Salonika, and the seizure of the Salonika railway." ¹

¹ *National Review*, March 1916, p. 102. The above is from the statement of the "very able and experienced man of affairs with inside knowledge," already referred to.

Jan. 12. Accompanies the King, who reviews at Winchester a division of troops returned from Foreign Service.

“Lord Kitchener said he was sure these battalions [battalions which had been under his command in India] would make their mark. . . . He had hoped at one time that it might have been his lot to lead an army of troops trained in India in this great war, but it was not to be. Fate had set his duty in another place.”¹

Jan. 13. Mr. Winston Churchill brings Admiral Carden’s plan, made at Mr. Churchill’s suggestion, for “forcing the Dardanelles by ships” before the War Council.²

Jan. 15. End of the Battle of Soissons; French reverse.

Jan. 15 (*circa*). Turkish forces reported in Sinai Peninsula.

¹ *The Times*, January 13, 1915.

² Parliamentary Debates, Commons, vol. lxxv. p. 1508.

Jan. 18. Some 10,000 Turks located near Bir-es-Saba (west of Dead Sea).

Jan. 22. Kitchener's proposal to assist the Serbians overruled by his colleagues.¹

Jan. 24. Battle in the North Sea; *Blücher* sunk.

Jan. 28. War Council sanctions Mr. Churchill's Dardanelles policy.

Feb. 1. Von Hindenburg's third advance on Warsaw begins.

Feb. 3. First Turkish attack on Suez Canal.

"The enemy appeared to number some 12,000 to 15,000 men in the aggregate."²

Feb. 6. Unsuccessful Russian invasion of East Prussia commences.

Feb. 8. Germans advancing on Warsaw defeated.

¹ *National Review*, March 1916, p. 102.

² Major-General A. Wilson. *London Gazette Supplement*, June 20, 1916, p. 6165.

Germans from East Prussia moving on Russian Niemen.

Feb. 18. Germans concentrating for advance on the Narev (between Warsaw and the Niemen).

Feb. 19. Attempt of Anglo-French fleet to force the passage of the Dardanelles begins.

Feb. 22. Botha invades German South-West Africa.

Feb. 25-7. German army moving on the Narev defeated.

Feb. 28 (circa). German advance from East Prussia on the Russian Niemen fails.

March 7. Kitchener takes up his residence at York House, lent him by the King.

March 10-12. Battle of Neuve Chapelle; British re-take village lost during the Battle of Ypres-La Bassée.

March 13. Sir Ian Hamilton with Staff leaves London to assume command of Gallipoli Expedition.

CHAPTER XI

Secretary of State for War (*cont.*). Need for increase of munitions (March 15, 1915)—On poisonous gas—On the Canadians—High-explosive shells—Gallipoli Expedition—The “three M’s”—Power of Germany—On excuses for not joining Army—The Russian retreat—The French and their “almost impregnable fortifications”—Visit to Gallipoli Peninsula and Athens—Call for economy—Criticized in House of Commons—Meets his critics—Mission to Russia—Death.

1915, *March* 15. Kitchener in House of Lords calls attention to the need for increasing the supply of war materials.

MUNITIONS QUESTION.

“The work of supplying and equipping new Armies depends largely on our ability to obtain the war material required. Our demands on the industries concerned with the manufacture of munitions of war in this country have naturally been very great, and have necessitated

that they and other ancillary trades should work at the highest possible pressure. The armament firms have promptly responded to our appeal, and have undertaken orders of vast magnitude. The great majority also of the employees have loyally risen to the occasion and have worked, and are working, overtime and on night shifts in all the various workshops and factories in the country. Notwithstanding these efforts to meet our requirements, we have unfortunately found that the output is not only not equal to our necessities but does not fulfil our expectations, for a very large number of our orders have not been completed by the dates on which they were promised.

The progress in equipping our new Armies and also in supplying the necessary war material for our forces in the field has been seriously hampered by the failure to obtain sufficient labour and by delays in the production of the necessary plant, largely due to the enormous demands not only of ourselves but of our Allies. While the workmen generally, as I have said, have worked loyally and well, there have, I regret to say, been instances

where absence, irregular time-keeping, and slack work have led to a marked diminution in the output of our factories. In some cases the temptations of drink account for this failure to work up to the high standard expected. It has been brought to my notice on more than one occasion that the restrictions of trade unions have undoubtedly added to our difficulties, not so much in obtaining sufficient labour as in making the best use of that labour. I am confident, however, that the seriousness of the position as regards our supplies has only to be mentioned, and all concerned will agree to waive for the period of the war any of those restrictions which prevent in the very slightest degree our utilizing all the labour available to the fullest extent that is possible.

I cannot too earnestly point out that unless the whole nation works with us and for us, not only in supplying the manhood of the country to serve in our ranks but also in supplying the necessary arms, ammunition, and equipment, successful operations in the various parts of the world in which we are engaged will be very seriously hampered and delayed. I have heard

rumours that the workmen in some factories have an idea that the war is going so well that there is no necessity for them to work their hardest. I can only say that the supply of war material at the present moment and for the next two or three months is causing me very serious anxiety, and I wish all those engaged in the manufacture and supply of these stores to realize that it is absolutely essential, not only that the arrears in the deliveries of our munitions of war should be wiped off, but that the output of every round of ammunition is of the utmost importance, and has a large influence on our operations in the field.

The Bill which my noble friend the Leader of the House is about to place before your Lordships as an amendment to the Defence of the Realm Act is calculated to rectify this state of things as far as is possible, and in my opinion it is imperatively necessary. In such a large manufacturing country as our own the enormous output of what we require to place our troops in the field thoroughly equipped and found with ammunition is undoubtedly possible; but, my Lords, this output can only

be obtained by a careful and deliberate organization for developing the resources of the country so as to enable each competent workman to utilize in the most useful manner possible all his ability and energy in the common object which we all have in view, which is the successful prosecution and victorious termination of this war. I feel sure that there is no business or manufacturing firm in this country that will object for one moment to any delay or loss caused in the produce of their particular industry when they feel that they and their men are taking part with us in maintaining the soldiers in the field with those necessities without which they cannot fight.

As I have said, the regular armament firms have taken on enormous contracts vastly in excess of their ordinary engagements in normal times of peace. We have also spread orders both in the form of direct contracts and sub-contracts over a large number of subsidiary firms not accustomed in peace time to this class of manufacture. It will, I am sure, be readily understood that when new plant is available for the production of war material those firms that are not now so engaged

should release from their own work the labour necessary to keep the machinery fully occupied on the production for which it is being laid down as well as to supply sufficient labour to keep working at full power the whole of the machinery which we now have. I hope, my Lords, that this result will be attained under the provisions of the Bill now about to be placed before you.

Labour may very rightly ask that their patriotic work should not be used to inflate the profits of the directors and shareholders of the various great industrial and armament firms, and we are therefore arranging a system under which the important armament firms will come under Government control, and we hope that workmen who work regularly by keeping good time shall reap some of the benefits which the war automatically confers on these great companies. I feel strongly, my Lords, that the men working long hours in the shops by day and by night, week in and week out, are doing their duty for their King and country in a like manner with those who have joined the Army for active service in the field. They are thus taking their part in the war and displaying

the patriotism that has been so manifestly shown by the nation in all ranks, and I am glad to be able to state that His Majesty has approved that where service in this great work of supplying the munitions of war has been thoroughly, loyally, and continuously rendered, the award of a medal will be granted on the successful termination of the war."

Cabinet about this date decides to create Committee "to deal with the whole question of the supply of munitions of war." ¹

March 17. Accompanies the King to Woolwich Arsenal, and inspects gun and carriage factories and the laboratory.

Sir Ian Hamilton arrives at island of Tenedos, near Mediterranean mouth of Dardanelles.

March 18. Kitchener appeals to miners to limit their holidays.

Failure of great naval attack on the Dardanelles; *Irresistible*, *Ocean*, and *Bouvet* sunk.

¹ See entry under April 15, 1915, and footnote.

March 21. Kitchener visits Lord Derby at Knowsley.

March 21. Proceeds to Liverpool and inspects the Northern Command of the New Army.

March 22. Russians take Przemyśl; struggle for Carpathian passes becomes acute.

Turks again attack Suez Canal.

Sir Ian Hamilton, after reconnoitring western shore of Gallipoli Peninsula from the Bulair fortified lines to Cape Helles, decides about this date against immediate disembarkation.

“ Before doing anything else I had to redistribute the troops on the transports to suit the order of their disembarkation. The bulk of the forces at my disposal had, perforce, been embarked without its having been possible to pay due attention to the operation upon which I now proposed that they should be launched.

Owing to lack of facilities at Mudros redistribution in that harbour was out of the question. With your Lordship's approval, therefore, I ordered all the transports, except those of the Australian Infantry Brigade and

the details encamped at Lemnos Island, to the Egyptian ports " (Sir Ian Hamilton).¹

March 24. Sir Ian Hamilton, with General Staff, proceeds to Alexandria.

March 27. Kitchener inspects Division of New Army at Aldershot.

April 2. In response to King's appeal, all alcoholic liquors banned from use in his household during the war.

April 7 (?). Sir Ian Hamilton leaves Alexandria for Lemnos.²

Turks, to the number of 1,200 or so, near the Suez Canal.

April 8. The French capture Les Eparges, important hill position between Verdun and St. Mihiel.

¹ "Naval and Military Despatches," vol. ii. p. 267. Mudros is on the island of Lemnos.

² "By the 7th April my preparations were sufficiently advanced to enable me to return with my General Staff to Lemnos,"

"On the 8th April, owing to suspicious tracks having been noticed on the east bank of the [Suez] Canal between El Kap and Kantara, the Canal was dragged and a mine discovered and destroyed. The mine had evidently been placed in the Canal under cover of the demonstration of the previous day" (Major-General A. Wilson).¹

April 15. Mr. Asquith in House of Commons announces that the appointment of a Committee, whose "function" is "to ensure the promptest and most efficient application of all the available productive resources of the country to the manufacture and supply of munitions of war for the Navy and Army," has been "decided upon a month ago."²

¹ *London Gazette Supplement*, June 21, 1916, p. 6170.

² Parliamentary Debates, Commons, 1915, vol. lxxi. p. 39. The members of the Committee at this date were, according to Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George (Chairman), Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Montagu, Mr. A. Henderson, Sir H. Llewellyn Smith, Mr. G. M. Booth; and—representing the War Office—Major-General Von Donop and Mr. Harold Baker—representing the Admiralty—Sir Frederick Black and Admiral Tudor. The Committee had power to increase the number of its members (*Ibid.*).

It appears that there was also at this date a "Departmental Committee," the members of which were Kitchener,

April 20. Speech of Mr. Asquith at Newcastle.

"I do not believe that any Army or Navy has ever either entered upon a campaign or been maintained during a campaign with better or more adequate equipment. I saw a statement the other day that the operations not only of our Army but of our Allies were being crippled, or at any rate hampered, by our failure to provide the necessary ammunition. There is not a word of truth in that statement. I say there is not a word of truth in that statement, which is the more mischievous because, if it were believed, it is calculated to dishearten our troops, to discourage our Allies, and to stimulate the hopes and the activities of our enemies."¹

Major-General Von Donop, Sir H. A. Walker (Chairman of the Railways Executive Committee), Sir Algernon Firth (President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce), Mr. G. M. Booth, and Mr. Allan M. Smith (Secretary of the Engineering Employers' Federation). See answer of Mr. Tennant (Parliamentary Debates, Commons, 1915, vol. lxxi. p. 207).

"The relations between the two [Committees]," said Mr. Asquith on the 15th April, 1915, "are quite simple. This [the 'Departmental Committee'] is a Departmental Committee which has been appointed by the War Office. The larger Committee deals with the whole question of the supply of munitions of war" (Ibid., p. 40).

¹ *The Times*, April 21, 1915.

April 22. Second Battle of Ypres begins ; Germans with aid of poisonous gas temporarily break the Allied line ; need of shrapnel shell for the British artillery demonstrated.

“ Siege warfare may require both projectiles—shrapnel to resist an infantry attack and to sweep the ground over which reinforcements may be brought up ; high explosive shell to break down material obstacles, to render an enemy’s trenches untenable, and to attack his guns in position ” (Lord Sydenham).¹

April 25. Allied force (including Australians and New Zealanders) under Sir Ian Hamilton lands in Gallipoli Peninsula, a French detachment also landing at Kum Kale, near the plains of Troy.²

¹ Letter to *The Times*, June 28, 1915. Lord Sydenham is a leading authority on such subjects.

² The shortage of munitions for the British on the Western Front may be partly explained by this expedition ; the expedition itself may have been caused by the shortage of munitions in Russia. If the Allies had secured the Dardanelles and Bosphorus they would have been able to pour munitions into Russia more easily than *viâ* Archangel. Serbia also absorbed Allied munitions.

“WAR OFFICE, *April* 25.

THE EMPLOYEES OF MESSRS. VICKERS (LIMITED),
BARROW-IN-FURNESS.

I impressed upon you last September the importance of the Government work upon which you are engaged, and marked my appreciation of your efforts and the quality of your work. After seven more months' experience of the war and of the enormous expenditure of arms and ammunition which its successful prosecution requires, I again appeal to you to continue to exercise your skill and experience at full pressure for the purpose of delivering to the Army the great supplies which our fighting men are relying upon.

It is not your privilege to be able to exhibit acts of valour in the field, but your efforts in the workshop are as necessary to a speedy and successful ending of the war as the bravery of your comrades in the fighting lines. By conscientious work and good time-keeping you enable the full output to be obtained from the machinery of the works. Anything less than the full output means gallant British lives sacrificed unnecessarily and victory postponed.

I appeal to every employee, whether engaged directly upon the manufacture of munitions or upon the erection of buildings or machines for their production, to give his best service, and so fully co-operate with our brave Army in the field.”¹

April 26. The 29th Indian Infantry Brigade leaves Suez Canal for Gallipoli Peninsula, being replaced by the East Lancashire Brigade (Territorial Force).²

April 27. Speech of Kitchener in the House of Lords.

GERMAN USE OF POISONOUS GAS.

“Germany has stooped to acts which will surely stain indelibly her military history, and which would vie with the barbarous savagery of the Dervishes of the Soudan. I do not think that there can be a soldier of any nationality, even amongst the Germans them-

¹ *The Times*, April 27, 1915.

² Major-General A. Wilson. *London Gazette Supplement*, June 21, 1916, p. 6170.

selves, who is not heartily ashamed of the slur which has been thus brought upon the profession of arms."

April 28. Von Mackensen from the Donajetz with overwhelming artillery begins his "phalanx" advance against Russian Army which is north of and covering Russian Army operating in the Carpathians. The Russians seem then to have been, and certainly were soon after, very short of munitions.

Attack on Krithia (at tip of Gallipoli Peninsula) begins.

May 1. The 29th Indian Infantry Brigade joins Sir Ian Hamilton.

May 2. Great victory gained by Von Mackensen ; Russians retreat towards the San.

May 3. British line withdrawn westwards to points nearer Ypres.

May 7. *Lusitania* sunk.

May 8. Attack on Krithia ends ; Allies have made slight advance ; "for the first time

I felt that we had planted a fairly firm foothold upon the point of the Gallipoli Peninsula" (Sir Ian Hamilton).¹

May 9. French offensive, partially successful, against German fortified area north of Arras (the Labyrinth, Neuville St. Vaast, Carency, Ablain, Souchez, the plateau of Notre-Dame de Lorette, the Vimy heights) begins.

British fail to storm the Aubers ridge (east of Neuve Chapelle) ; need for far more high-explosive shells demonstrated.

Australians and New Zealanders advance in Anzac region (north-west of Krithia region) of Gallipoli Peninsula.

May 10. Sir Ian Hamilton cables to Kitchener, asking that "two fresh divisions might be sent me to enable me to press on and so prevent my attack degenerating into trench warfare."²

May 11. In Gallipoli Peninsula 29th Divi-

¹ "Naval and Military Despatches," vol. iii. p. 342.

² *London Gazette Supplement*, January 6, 1916, p. 285.

sion replaced in fighting line by 20th Indian Infantry Brigade and by the 42nd Division, which has completed its disembarkation two days previously.

“The opposing fortified fronts stretched parallel from sea to straits. . . . Siege warfare was soon bound to supersede manœuvre battles in the open” (Sir Ian Hamilton).¹

May 12. Botha enters Windhoek (German South-West Africa).

May 14. Publication of *The Times* military correspondent's criticisms on the Battle of Aubers.

“We had not sufficient high-explosive to level the German parapets to the ground after the French practice. . . . The want of an unlimited supply of high-explosive was a fatal bar to our success.”²

May 17 (circa). Resignation of Lord Fisher, First Sea Lord.

¹ “Naval and Military Despatches,” vol. iii. p. 343.

² *The Times*, May 14, 1916.

“ On the 17th of May I [Sir Ian Hamilton] again cabled, saying that . . . we should require two Army Corps additional to my existing forces at the Dardanelles. The 52nd (Lowland) Division had been sent me, but between their dates of dispatch and arrival Russia had given up the idea of co-operating from the coast of the Black Sea. Thereby several Turkish divisions were set free for the Dardanelles. . . . During June Your Lordship became persuaded of the bearing of these facts, and I was promised three regular divisions plus the infantry of two Territorial divisions. The advance-guard of these troops was due to reach Mudros by the 10th of July ; by the 10th of August their concentration was to be complete ” (Sir Ian Hamilton).¹

May 18. Kitchener speaks in the House of Lords.

MUNITIONS AND HIGH EXPLOSIVE SHELLS.

“ Offensive operations against the enemy’s trenches demand, as we have known for some time, an enormous expenditure of ammunition, both of our usual type and of the high explosive pattern that we are now making. Your Lordships and the country are aware

¹ *London Gazette Supplement*, January 6, 1896, p. 285.

of the energetic steps that have been taken to produce a sufficient amount of ammunition to supply the Army in the field. There has been undoubtedly considerable delay in producing the material which we at an early stage in the war foresaw would be required. This delay is due mainly to the unprecedented and almost unlimited calls that have been made on the resources of the manufacturers of this country. Strenuous efforts have been taken by all concerned to reduce as far as possible this delay in production, and I am glad to say that already a very considerable improvement in the output has been the result of the energy and good work of all concerned.

High explosive shells for field guns have recently been brought into prominence by comments in the Press. At an early stage in the war we took the preliminary steps to manufacture these new projectiles, and though the introduction of any new departure in munitions of war naturally causes delay and difficulty to manufacturers, I am confident that in the very near future we shall be in a satisfactory position with regard to the supply of these shells to the Army at the Front."

SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES AND USE OF
POISONOUS GAS.

“Towards the end of last month the Germans carried out a violent attack on that portion of the Allied front held by the French to the north-east of the Ypres salient. In order to succeed in this attack the enemy employed vast quantities of poisonous gases in defiance of the recognized rules of war and of their pledged word. Our soldiers and our French Allies were utterly unprepared for this diabolical method of attack, which had undoubtedly been long and carefully prepared by the enemy. Full accounts have been published in the newspapers of the effect of the gas and the agonizing death which it produces. The Germans have persisted in the use of these asphyxiating gases whenever the wind favoured or other opportunity occurred, and His Majesty's Government, no less than the French Government, feel that our troops must be adequately protected by the employment of similar methods so as to remove the enormous and unjustifiable disadvantage which must exist for them if we take no steps to

meet on his own ground the enemy who is responsible for the introduction of this pernicious practice."

CANADIANS AT SECOND BATTLE OF YPRES.

"The forced retirement in front of the heavy clouds of gas which preceded the German advance at Ypres resulted in the left flank of the Canadian Division being exposed. The Canadians suffered severely from the poisonous fumes, but notwithstanding held on to their position in the most determined manner. This was, indeed, an ordeal to try the qualities of the finest army in the world, and all the more credit is due to the soldiers of Canada who, unprepared for such an attack and exposed to a withering fire, reluctantly and with perfect steadiness withdrew their left flank to conform to the new alignment of the Allies' position."

GALLIPOLI EXPEDITION.

"In connection with the attack on the Dardanelles forts a body of troops, compris-

ng British, Australian, and New Zealand soldiers, with a Naval Division, and in co-operation with a French force, landed on the Gallipoli Peninsula. With the assistance and co-operation of the Navy they have been able to consolidate their positions and to advance farther on the lines they immediately captured. The landing itself, effected in the teeth of great natural difficulties, skilfully prepared obstacles, and armed opposition, was a masterpiece of organization, ingenuity, and courage which will long be remembered. The progress of our troops is necessarily slow since the country is most difficult. But the Turks are gradually being forced to retire from positions of great strength, and though the enemy is being constantly reinforced the news from this front is thoroughly satisfactory."

GENERAL BOTHA AND GERMAN S.W. AFRICA.

"The recent operations under the command of General Botha in South-West Africa have been brought to a most successful stage by the occupation of Windhoek. The military ability displayed by General Botha has been of a

very high order, and has confirmed the admiration felt for him as a commander and leader of men. His task was carried out under conditions of considerable difficulty, especially as regards transport, water, and supplies. All these have been successfully overcome, and the campaign has now, happily, entered its final phase."

THE NEW ARMIES.

"In my first speech in your Lordships' House I pointed out that this war would be a long one and would demand great sacrifices. Those sacrifices have been cheerfully made by the people of this country, who not only immediately responded in vast numbers to the summons to create the new Armies required, but have since continuously supplied the constant stream of recruits which has enabled us to maintain the forces in the field and in training at their full strength and with effective men. Your Lordships have watched the growth of the new Armies, and have noted, doubtless, the difficulties which have confronted us in providing them with all the

material of war they require. I cannot speak too highly of the men and of the devotion to duty they have displayed during the long months of training, or of their cheerful acceptance of hardships incidental to an inclement winter, which have provoked the admiration of the expert officers who have reported to me as to the wonderfully rapid progress made in their training to become efficient soldiers. I am certain that in the activities in the field which immediately await them these men will worthily sustain the reputation they have already attained at home."

MORE RECRUITS NEEDED.

"I have said that I would let the country know when more men should be wanted for the war. The time has come, and I now call for 300,000 recruits to form new Armies. Those who are engaged in the production of war material of any kind should not leave their work. It is to men who are not performing this duty I appeal, and I am convinced that the manhood of England still available will loyally respond by coming for-

ward to take their share in this great struggle for a great cause."

May 18-19. General Liman von Sanders with reinforcements and troops amounting, it is said, to 30,000 men, attacks Allied position at Anzac, which threatens rear of Turkish main position in Gallipoli Peninsula; he is repulsed with heavy loss.

May 19. Mr. Asquith announces formation of a Coalition Ministry.

May 20. Kitchener with the King on a visit to the Scotswood and Elswick Works, and at a review of troops on Newcastle Town Moor.

May 22. Enemy submarines appear in Gallipoli area; transports dispatched to Mudros for safety.

May 23. Italy at war with Austria-Hungary.

May 26-7. *Triumph* and *Majestic* torpedoed by submarines off Gallipoli Peninsula;

it is decided to send home *Queen Elizabeth* and larger vessels.

“As early as May 1915 signs were apparent that the steadily increasing pressure brought to bear upon the Senussi by the Turkish party in Tripoli, under the leadership of Nuri Bey, a half-brother of Enver Pasha, was beginning to take effect.”¹

June 2. Von Mackensen recovers Przemyśl.

June 4. Renewed attacks by Allies on Krithia position in Gallipoli Peninsula.

June 9. Bill creating a new Munitions Department receives Royal Assent.

June 15. Mr. Asquith in House of Com-

¹ General Sir J. G. Maxwell, *London Gazette Supplement* of 21 June, 1916, p. 6174. The Senussi are a sect of Mohammedans with their headquarters in an oasis west of Egypt. In April 1915 Gaafer, a “Germanized Turk of considerable ability,” had arrived in Tripoli “with a considerable supply of arms and money.” It is obvious that the objects of Gaafer and his employers were to arrange an attack on Egypt from the west and, through the Senussi, to stir up trouble in Egypt itself; also to embarrass the Italians in Tripoli, if Italy went to war with Austria-Hungary.

mons replies to criticisms on his Newcastle speech.

“ . . . It seems to have been forgotten that the object of my going to Newcastle was not to reassure the people, but to arouse them. It was my sole purpose to bring home, as far as I could, both to employers and workmen in that great manufacturing area, the urgency of increasing our supply of munitions. I did, incidentally—perhaps I proved an unskilled advocate for the purpose, and, judging from many of the criticisms I have seen, I must have been one of the most maladroit—it is quite true that I did incidentally make the observation which the right hon. Gentleman quoted. I should not have made it without careful inquiry. I should not have made it unless I was sure I was making it on the highest and best authority ; and, without going further into the matter now, I beg the House to believe, in fact I am sure they believe without any assurance, that so far from that being an invention of my own, *my statement was made on the highest possible authority accessible to me*, and I have no reason to doubt it in any respect.”¹

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, June 15, 1915, vol. lxxii. pp. 607-8. The italics are ours. The words “accessible to me” suggest, which is, indeed, highly probable from Kitchener’s speech of March 15, 1915, that the

June 21. French attack in Gallipoli Peninsula; losses 2,500; enemy losses estimated at 7,000.

June 22. Austro-Hungarians recover Lemnong.

June 28. In the House of Commons—

“Sir Arthur Markham asked the Prime Minister whether the highest possible authority accessible to him, upon whom he relied in making his statement at Newcastle that neither our Allies nor ourselves were hampered by our failure to provide ammunition, was Lord Kitchener or any other official in the War Office?

The Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith): This question is identical in terms with the one which was put down on the Paper last week, and which was, at my request, withdrawn. I should not have made that request unless I were satisfied that, in the public interest, it is not at present expedient that I should say more on this subject than what I stated to the House a fortnight ago. I must, there-

authority in question was not Kitchener. Mr. Asquith subsequently refused to give the name. See *infra*.

fore, make the same appeal to my hon. Friend."¹

June 29-30. Turks under Enver Pasha unsuccessfully attack Australians and New Zealanders in Anzac region of Gallipoli Peninsula.

July 5. Kitchener leaves London to attend Conference of Allied Ministers at Calais.

Great German-Austro-Hungarian advance into Russia from Galicia to the Baltic beginning.

July 7. Kitchener visits Headquarters of the 2nd Army; meets King of Belgians and views inundations in the Yser district.

July 8. Visits Headquarters of 1st Army and inspects Indian Cavalry Corps on parade.

"On the 8th July orders were received for two batteries and one infantry brigade to proceed urgently [from Egypt] to Aden."²

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, June 28, 1915, vol. lxxii. pp. 1451-2.

² Major-General A. Wilson. *London Gazette Supplement* of June 21, 1916, p. 6171. This force, the 28th (T.F.)

July 9. Recruiting speech of Kitchener at Guildhall.

THE THREE M'S.

“Napoleon, when asked what were the three things necessary for a successful war, replied, “Money, money, money.” To-day we vary that phrase and say “Men, material, and money.”

POWER OF GERMANY.

“All the reasons which led me to think in August 1914 that this war would be a prolonged one hold good at the present time. . . . The thorough preparedness of Germany, due to her strenuous efforts, sustained at high pressure for some forty years, has issued in a military organization as complex in character, as it is perfect in machinery. Never before has any nation been so elaborately organized for imposing her will upon the other nations of

Brigade, with “B” Battery, H.A.C., and the Berkshire Battery, R.H.A. (T.F.), was *en route* for Mesopotamia. The 30th Brigade was, also, sent thither from Egypt (Sir J. G. Maxwell. *London Gazette Supplement* of June 21, 1916, p. 6174).

the world ; and her vast resources of military strength are wielded by an autocracy which is peculiarly adapted for the conduct of war."

THE "SHY" RECRUITABLE MAN.

" We must go a step farther, so as to attract and attach individuals who, from shyness or other causes, have not yet yielded to their own patriotic impulses."

EXCUSES FOR NOT SERVING.

" Excuses are often very plausible and very arguable, and seem quite good until we examine them in the light of duty before the tribunal of our conscience. . . . It is not for me to tell you your duty ; that is a matter for your conscience. But make up your minds, and do so quickly. Don't delay to take your decision, and, having taken it, to act upon it at once. . . . It has been well said that in every man's life there is one supreme hour towards which all earlier experience moves and from which all future results may be reckoned. For every individual Briton, as well as for our national existence, that solemn

hour is now striking. Let us take heed to the great opportunity it offers, and which most assuredly we must grasp *now and at once—or never*. Let each man of us see that we spare nothing, shirk nothing, shrink from nothing, if only we may lend our full weight to the impetus which shall carry to victory the cause of our honour and of our freedom.”

NUMBERS OF RECRUITS.

“What the numbers required are likely to be it is clearly inexpedient to shout abroad. Our constant refusal to publish either these or any other figures . . . needs neither explanation nor apology.”

SERVICE OF WOMEN.

“I cannot refrain from a tribute of grateful recognition to the large number of women, drawn from every class and phase of life, who have come forward and placed their services unreservedly at their country’s disposal.”¹

¹ *The Times*, July 10, 1915. The italics above are in the report.

July 12-13. Sir Ian Hamilton again attacks at Krithia.

July 17. Bulgaria secretly joins Teutonic Allies.¹

July 20. Kitchener visits wounded Indian soldiers at the Brighton Indian Hospitals.

Aug. 5. Germans enter Warsaw.

Aug. 6-15. The Helles-Anzac-Suvla Bay operations in Gallipoli Peninsula; failure of the Allies.

“Anzac was to deliver the knock-down blow; Helles and Suvla were complementary operations” (Sir Ian Hamilton).²

General Birdwood with “37,000 rifles and 72 guns” attempts “to break out with a rush

¹ “Nelson’s History of the War,” by John Buchan, vol. xi. p. 13. “We were not aware at the time of the secret treaty of 17th July, but by the end of August there was ample ground for suspicion” (Mr. John Buchan).

² *London Gazette Supplement* of January 6, 1916, p. 289. As the Helles (Krithia) operations were comparatively unimportant, and what happened at Suvla Bay is a matter of dispute, we confine ourselves to the central attack from Anzac.

from Anzac and cut off the bulk of the Turkish Army from land communication with Constantinople" (Sir Ian Hamilton);¹ desperate and partially successful fighting on the right; "Lone Pine" trenches taken by Australians (August 6-12).

"The Lone Pine attack drew all the local enemy reserves towards it, and may be held, more than any other cause, to have been the reason that the Suvla Bay landing was so lightly opposed, and that comparatively few of the enemy were available at first to reinforce against our attack on Sari Bair" (Sir Ian Hamilton).²

Birdwood's centre and left attack in the night of 6th-7th the Sari Bair ridge; fierce fighting on the 7th.

"Our aims had not fully been attained, and the help we had hoped for from Suvla had not been forthcoming. Yet I fully endorse the words of General Birdwood when he says: 'The troops had performed a feat which is without parallel'" (Sir Ian Hamilton).³

¹ *London Gazette Supplement* of January 6, 1916, pp. 290, 288.

² *Ibid.*, p. 292.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 294-5.

On the 8th, section of Chunuk Bair (part of Sari Bair ridge) captured.

“The expected support from Suvla hung fire, but the capture of Chunuk Bair was a presage of victory” (Sir Ian Hamilton).¹

Renewed efforts on the 9th to gain whole of summit of Chunuk Bair, which ridge

“covered our landing-places, it is true, but it covered not only the Turkish beaches at Kilia Leman and Maidos, but also the Narrows [of the Dardanelles] and the roads leading northward to Bulair and Constantinople” (Sir Ian Hamilton).²

At daybreak on the 10th Turks counter-attack, recover summit of Chunuk Bair, and pursue British down the slopes.

“Towards this supreme struggle the absolute last two battalions from the General Reserve [of Birdwood] were hurried, but by 10 a.m. the effort of the enemy was spent. . . . By night, except prisoners or wounded, no live Turk was left upon our

¹ *London Gazette Supplement* of January 6, 1916, p. 295.

² *Ibid.*, p. 296.

side of the slope. . . . By evening the total casualties of General Birdwood's force had reached 12,000. . . . At times I had thought of throwing my reserves into this stubborn central battle, where probably they would have turned the scale. But each time the water trouble made me give up the idea, all ranks at Anzac being reduced to one pint a day. . . . The grand coup had not come off. The Narrows were still out of sight and beyond field-gun range" (Sir Ian Hamilton).¹

"The Turks then (August 16), I reckoned, had 110,000 rifles to our 95,000." Sir Ian Hamilton asks for reinforcements, but learns that "the essential drafts, reinforcements and munitions" cannot be sent him, "the reason given" being one which prevents him "from any further insistence."²

Aug. 7. Kitchener inspects Territorials near Maidstone.

Aug. 8. Letter of Lord Esher to the *Glasgow Herald*.

¹ *London Gazette Supplement* of January 6, 1916, pp. 297-8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 304.

“ From the outset of the war I have been thrown into the company of practically every one of our leading statesmen, and I have found them all wrong in their forecasts without exception. They genuinely believed in a short war. They prophesied its conclusion in anything from three to nine months. They jeered at a less optimistic view, and hardly one of them but held that before now the British Army, accompanied by political plenipotentiaries, would be marching through Berlin.

During a long and intimate friendship I have rarely, if ever, differed from Mr. Balfour. But I cannot understand his meaning when he lays such stress upon German miscalculation. It amounts to so very little. The Germans undoubtedly had high hopes of achieving more than they have accomplished, but is not this the universal failing of aggressive nations? The real question for us is not what Germany hoped to achieve, but what she has achieved; and if German statesmen miscalculated, so did ours. Have we all forgotten the ‘steam roller’ theory, which was in the mouth of every politician and in the pages of every newspaper?

There was one exception to the vast host of miscalculators and optimists. That was Lord Kitchener, and to him we owe the Army we have got. If he is not interfered with, and if he is supported by the spontaneous gift to him of the supreme effort of the nation, he

may even now avert a defeat, which otherwise is inevitable." ¹

Aug. 15. Kitchener crosses in the night to France.

With General Joffre and M. Millerand; motors with them along the French front.

"After reviewing a division, which included native troops from the African Army, Lord Kitchener expressed the wish to say a few words in Arabic to a native officer of the Algerian Spahis. His lordship said that the chiefs and native soldiers could be entirely confident in the final success of the Allies' cause." ²

Towards nightfall, in Champagne meets and converses with General Baratier, one of Marchand's companions in the Fashoda expedition. Kitchener asks for news of Marchand, now a divisional general in Champagne.³

¹ *Glasgow Herald*, August 10, 1915. The "'steam-roller' theory" was the theory that the Russian Army would, before the end of 1914, have forced its way to Berlin.

² *The Times*, August 20, 1915.

³ *Journal des Débats*, August 20, 1915.

Aug. 17. Visits French lines in the Woëvre.

Dines with General Joffre and M. Millerand at Bar-le-Duc, where the people in crowds vehemently cheer him ; replies "in French" to a short speech of M. Millerand, saying (*i.a.*) that "after having seen close at hand the splendid army of General Joffre, he was more than ever certain that the Allies would be finally victorious."¹

Takes leave of General Joffre at the railway-station of Bar-le-Duc.

Aug. 18. With M. Millerand arrives in the morning at St. Omer ; meets Sir John French, and motors to the British front ; watches the evolutions of a squadron of aeroplanes.

Aug. 19. Germans in Russia, who have already taken Kovno, capture Novo-Georgievsk.

Aug. 21. Fresh, but unsuccessful attack on the Turkish positions in Suvla Bay and Anzac regions.

¹ *Journal des Débats*, August 20, 1915.

Aug. 25. Germans in Russia take Brest-Litovski.

Aug. 27-9. Successful action in the Anzac region gives "safer lateral communications between Anzac and Suvla Bay" (Sir Ian Hamilton).

Sept. 1-2. Grodno and Lutsk fall into the hands of Germans.

Sept. 2. The King with Kitchener inspects Canadians at Shorncliffe.

Battle for Vilna begins.

Sept. 5. The Tzar, with General Alexiev as Chief of the Staff, takes supreme command of Russian Army; the Grand Duke Nicholas, hitherto generalissimo, is appointed Viceroy of the Caucasus.

Sept. 12. Russians retreating across the Vilia; Germans cut Vilna-Petrograd railway.

Sept. 15. Kitchener speaks in the House of Lords.

THE RUSSIAN RETREAT.

“ In the history of this war few episodes will stand out more prominently or more creditably than the masterly manner in which the Russian forces, distributed along a line of some 750 miles, have been handled while facing the violent assaults of an enemy greatly superior, not only in numbers, but especially in guns and munitions. The success of this great rearguard action has been rendered possible by the really splendid fighting qualities of the Russian soldier, who, in every case where actual contact has taken place, has shown himself infinitely superior to his adversary. It is these fighting qualities of the men of the Russian Army which have empowered her able Generals and competent Staff to carry out the immensely difficult operation of a retirement of the whole line over some 100 or 200 miles, without allowing the enemy to break through at any point, or, by surrounding their forces, to bring about a tactical position which might have involved a surrender of a considerable portion of the Russian Army.

Thus we see the Russian Army remaining to-day intact as a fighting force. It has doubtless suffered severely from the hard fighting to which it has been subjected during recent months, but the German forces have also had to pay a heavy toll for their advance into Russia, and who will venture to say, until the present grips are relaxed, which of the Armies has suffered the more? It must not be forgotten that Russia, with her vast territory, has always been able ultimately to envelop and annihilate the largest invading Armies. In this she is certainly no less capable to-day than she was a century ago.

As regards the net result, all that the Germans can place to their credit is that, at enormous sacrifice, they have captured certain fortresses. But our recent experience shows that the best fortifications and practically the only ones that can effectively resist the new machinery of war, are those which can be quickly dug deep in the soil. Such trenches to-day form better defences than most of the carefully fortified places of which engineers until lately were so proud. The Germans appear almost to have shot their bolt. Their

advance into Russia, which at one time was carried out at an average daily rate of approximately five miles, has now diminished to less than one mile a day, and we see the forces, which they boastingly described as defeated and broken troops flying before them, still doggedly and pluckily fighting along the whole line, and in some places, indeed, turning on the jaded invaders of their territory and inflicting heavy losses upon them. The Russian Army far from falling out of the fighting lists, as Germany fondly hoped would be the case, is still a powerful and undefeated unit, and the determination and confidence of the troops, fortified by an increasing supply of munitions, have only risen in proportion to the strain which has been imposed upon them. . . . To sum up, we may fairly say that while the Germans have prevailed by sheer weight of guns and at immense cost to themselves in forcing back the Russian front, nothing but barren territory and evacuated fortresses have been gained; thus their strategy has clearly failed, and the victories they claim may only prove, as military history has so often demonstrated, to be defeats in disguise."

THE FRENCH

“The French trenches along the entire front have been developed and strengthened, and they now everywhere present a network of almost impregnable fortifications. Of this I have been able to satisfy myself during a visit which I was lately able to pay to our Allies at the invitation of General Joffre, when I was profoundly impressed with the high state of efficiency and the *morale* exhibited by the French Army. It was evident that officers and men recognized that the only possible termination to the war is to inflict on the enemy a thorough defeat, and that their resolution to do this was never firmer or more intense. Our Allies’ aircraft have been particularly active. They have carried out numerous effective raids on a large scale, penetrating far into hostile territory.”

THE ITALIANS.

“Under the inspiring leadership of their King, assisted by General Cadorna, the Italian Army now occupies strategic positions of first-rate

importance ; the gallant conduct of the Infantry of the line in action impressed upon their enemies the great military value of the Italian Army, while the bold feats of the Alpine troops and the Bersaglieri when scaling the rugged mountain sides were a marvellous example of successful enterprise."

GALLIPOLI EXPEDITION : ANZAC AND SUVLA
BAY OPERATIONS.

"In the course of these operations the gallantry and resourcefulness of the Australian and New Zealand troops have frequently formed a subject for eulogy in Sir Ian Hamilton's reports. General Birdwood and his staff have greatly distinguished themselves both in planning and conducting the operations of the Australian and New Zealand Corps, whose activities have been marked by constant success. Their determination to overcome apparently insuperable difficulties has been no less admirable than their courage in hand-to-hand fighting with the enemy.

It is not easy to appreciate at their full

value the enormous difficulties which have attended the operations in the Dardanelles, or the fine temper with which our troops have met them. There is now abundant evidence of a process of demoralization having set in among the German-led—or rather German-driven—Turks, due, no doubt, to their extremely heavy losses, and to the progressive failure of their resources. It is only fair to acknowledge that, judged from a humane point of view, the methods of warfare pursued by the Turks are vastly superior to those which have disgraced their German masters. Throughout, the co-operation of the Fleet has been intensely valuable, and the concerted action between the sister Services has been in every way, and in the highest degree, satisfactory.”

THE BRITISH PEOPLE AND RECRUITING.

“Although there has been a falling off in the number of recruits, I do not draw from this fact any conclusion unfavourable to the resolution and spirit of the country ; on the contrary, I think now—as I have always thought—that

the manner in which all classes have responded to the call of patriotism is magnificent, and I do not for one instant doubt that whatever sacrifices may prove to be necessary to bring this gigantic war to a successful conclusion will be cheerfully undertaken by our people."

Sept. 18. Vilna abandoned by Russians.

Sept. 19. A Germano-Austro-Hungarian army on the Serbian frontier; Belgrade bombarded.

Bulgaria begins to mobilize.¹

Sept. 23. Russians under Ivanov are making counter-offensives in direction of northern frontiers of Galicia; Lutsk reoccupied.

Allies' great bombardment of German lines in Belgium and France begins.

Sept. 24. Greece begins to mobilize.

Sept. 25. Battles of Loos, Vimy, and the Champagne Pouilleuse open; partial successes of Allies, but German lines not broken.

Von Hindenburg attacking Dvinsk (south-

¹ "*The Times* Diary of the War." Mr. Buchan thinks the date was the 21st.

east of Riga and north-east of Vilna) on the Vilna–Petrograd railway.

General Townshend reaches the environs of Kut-el-Amara on the Tigris.

Sept. 27. Serbia expresses wish to attack Bulgaria before Bulgarian mobilization is completed; British Government declares that “the diplomatic and political arguments” are against this step being taken.¹

Sept. 28. With Mr. Asquith, Kitchener attends Conference of Labour leaders in London, and addresses them on the military situation and the need for more men.

“There is no room for any pessimism. Give me the men and the war munitions I want and I will guarantee my personal reputation that we have the war in the hollow of our hands.”²

Sept. 29. General Townshend takes Kut-el-Amara on the Tigris.

¹ “Nelson’s History of the War,” by John Buchan, vol. xi. pp. 17–18.

² From Kitchener’s address; words reported by Councillor Tom Fox (*Manchester Guardian*, October 4, 1915).

Sept. 30. Kitchener with the King at an inspection of troops near Farnham.

Oct. 3. Von Hindenburg begins his great effort to take Dvinsk.

Oct. 4. Russian ultimatum to Bulgaria.

Oct. 5. Bulgaria formally joins Teutonic Allies.

Allied forces land at Salonika, in Greece.¹

Dismissal of Venizelos, pro-Ally Premier of Greece.

Oct. 9. German-Austro-Hungarians take Belgrade.

Oct. 11. Lord Derby appointed Director of Recruiting.

Bulgarians invade Serbia.

¹ " *The Times* Diary of the War,' November 1, 1915. "The first seem to have landed on 3rd October, and on 7th October two divisions were on shore."—Mr. Buchan (" *Nelson's History of the War*," vol. xi. p. 24). "Early in October the 10th Division, under Lieutenant-General Sir B. Mahon, K.C.B., was transferred from Suvla to Salonika" (Sir Charles Monro, *London Gazette Supplement*, April 10, 1916, p. 3778).

Greece declines to assist Serbia.

Kitchener cables to Sir Ian Hamilton asking for estimate of losses which would be involved in an evacuation of Gallipoli Peninsula.¹

Oct. 12. Sir Ian Hamilton replies "in terms showing that such a step" is to him "unthinkable."²

General Sarrail arrives at Salonika and takes command of Allied forces.

Oct. 13. Resignation of M. Delcassé, French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Oct. 14. Letter of Kitchener to Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—

"When I call to mind the bravery and gallant exploits of the Irish soldiers during the war, and the heavy losses those regiments have consequently sustained, I feel certain from my close association with the country that Irishmen will never allow them to be left without reinforcements. The Irish

¹ *London Gazette Supplement*, January 6, 1916, p. 307.

² *Ibid.*

are entitled to their full share of the compliments paid to the rest of the United Kingdom for their hitherto magnificent response to the appeal for men, but if that response is to reap its one and only reward in victory, the supply must be continued.”¹

Oct. 16. Recall of Sir Ian Hamilton from Gallipoli Peninsula.

Oct. 17. Cyprus offered to Greece to induce her to help Serbia ; the offer refused.

Oct. 18. Sir Edward Carson resigns from the British Cabinet.

Von Hindenburg, having failed before Dvinsk, advances against Riga

Oct. 20. General Sir Charles Monro in London receives Kitchener's instructions to take over command of troops in Gallipoli Peninsula and report on military situation.

Oct. 21. Victory of Ivanoff, north of Tarnopol, near the Galician frontier.

¹ *The Times*, October 16, 1915.

Bulgarians across the Nish-Salonika railway ; Sarraill's French troops repulse Bulgarians south of Strumnitza ; British fleet bombards Dedeagatch, and Russian fleet Varna—both Bulgarian ports.

Oct. 22. General Italian advance in the Isonzo region.

Oct. 23. Kitchener with Sir Ian Hamilton at the War Office on latter's return from Gallipoli.

Oct. 28. Fall of French Ministry ; M. Briand becomes Premier, General Galliéni Minister of War.

Sir Charles Monro, apparently at Imbros, formally takes over command of Mediterranean Expeditionary Force.

Oct. 29. Kitchener with General Joffre at War Conference at Downing Street.

Oct. 29 and 30. General Joffre visits Kitchener at the War Office.

Oct. 30 (circa). Sir Charles Monro proceeds to the Gallipoli Peninsula to investigate the military situation.

“ The impressions I gathered are summarized very shortly as follows—

The positions occupied by our troops presented a military situation unique in history. The mere fringe of the coast-line had been secured. The beaches and piers upon which they depended for all requirements in personnel and material were exposed to registered and observed Artillery fire. Our entrenchments were dominated almost throughout by the Turks. The possible Artillery positions were insufficient and defective. The Force, in short, held a line possessing every possible military defect. The position was without depth, the communications were insecure and dependent on the weather. No means existed for the concealment and deployment of fresh troops destined for the offensive—whilst the Turks enjoyed full powers of observation, abundant Artillery positions, and they had been given the time to supplement the natural advantages which the position presented by all the devices at the disposal of the Field Engineer.

.

Other arguments, irrefutable in their con-

clusions, convinced me that a complete evacuation was the only wise course to pursue.

(a) It was obvious that the Turks could hold us in front with a small force and prosecute their designs on Bagdad or Egypt, or both.

(b) An advance from the positions we held could not be regarded as a reasonable military operation to expect.

(c) Even had we been able to make an advance in the Peninsula, our position would not have been ameliorated to any marked degree, and an advance on Constantinople was quite out of the question.

(d) Since we could not hope to achieve any purpose by remaining on the Peninsula, the appalling cost to the nation involved in consequence of embarking on an Overseas Expedition with no base available for the rapid transit of stores, supplies, and personnel, made it urgent that we should divert the troops locked up on the Peninsula to a more useful theatre.

Since therefore I could see no military advantage in our continued occupation of positions on the Peninsula, I telegraphed to your Lordship that in my opinion the evacuation of the Peninsula should be taken in hand” (Sir Charles Monro).¹

¹ *London Gazette Supplement*, April 10, 1916, pp. 3777-8.

Nov. 1. By this date the serious German menace to Riga and Dvinsk is over.¹

Nov. 2. Mr. Asquith in House of Commons announces that the War Committee of the Cabinet would be henceforth "a body of not less than three, and perhaps not more than five in number."²

Nov. 3. Kitchener inspects City of London National Guard Volunteer Corps at Wellington Barracks.

Nov. 5. Bulgarians take Nish.
Kitchener leaves for the Near East.

For the other arguments of Sir Charles Monro see *London Gazette Supplement*.

It would appear that the only chance of the Gallipoli Expedition being brought to a successful conclusion lay in the exhaustion of the Turkish munitions. After the Germano-Austro-Hungarian invasion of Serbia and the entry of Bulgaria into the war, this chance had vanished. The date when Sir Charles telegraphed to Kitchener is not given in the former's dispatch. Assuming that he telegraphed soon after October 30, it is somewhat difficult to see why it was necessary for the Cabinet to send Kitchener in November to the Near East.

¹ "Nelson's History of the War," by John Buchan, vol. xii. p. 112.

² Parliamentary Debates, Commons, vol. lxxv. p. 526.

Nov. 7. Press Bureau announces that Kitchener "has left England for a short visit to the Eastern Theatre of War."

Nov. 8. *The Times* announces that during his journey through France he has conferred with General Joffre.

Nov. 11. Declaration of Mr. Asquith that, during Kitchener's absence, War Committee of Cabinet will consist of himself, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, and Mr. McKenna.

Nov. 12. Kitchener at Cape Helles (Gallipoli Peninsula).

Nov. 13.

"Lord Kitchener visited Anzac to-day. Very few even of the senior officers had any previous knowledge of the visit, but the moment he stepped ashore the men "tumbled" to it and a remarkable scene occurred. How the knowledge could spread

so fast I do not know, but by the time Lord Kitchener had reached the end of the pier the men were tumbling like rabbits out of every dug-out on the hillside, jumping over obstacles and making straight for the beach.

Australians do not cheer readily, but as Lord Kitchener, accompanied by Generals Birdwood and Maxwell and others, passed the crowd along the beach, the men spontaneously called for cheers and gave them again and again. It was purely a soldier's welcome.

Lord Kitchener many times turned to the men. "His Majesty the King has asked me to tell you how splendidly he thinks you have done," he said. "You have done excellently well. Better," he added, "even than I thought you would."

Without any pause Lord Kitchener went straight up the steepest road in the Anzac area direct from the beach to the highest point in the old Anzac area, and in less than ten minutes one could see the tall figure stalking by the side of the little figure which all Anzac knows so well, right at the top of the steep ascent. Most persons arrive at that summit breathless, but Lord Kitchener went straight up without a halt. He went through the front firing trench on the neck where the Light Horse had charged. The troops could scarcely be restrained from cheering him, although the Turks in places were within twenty yards, and

the Anzac Staff had some moments of considerable anxiety at certain awkward corners all too visible to the Turkish snipers" (Captain C. E. W. Bean).¹

Meets General Sarraill.

"I only met Lord Kitchener twice, on both occasions in Greece, when he visited the country and King Constantine. I never had an opportunity of meeting him in France during his visits there, but I know his name is famous and a household word with every soldier at the French front. What we all especially admired was his extraordinary genius for organization, and the firmness, tenacity, and thoroughness with which he carried out all the military as well as the polemical work he undertook.

I well remember our two meetings. What struck me first was the fine, tall figure and its soldierly bearing. We discussed at length many important and delicate questions, and I was charmed not only with the manner and extent of Lord Kitchener's knowledge to the minutest details of the subjects discussed but his wonderfully complete knowledge of the French language, and more especially of the technical terms and phrases relating to all such

¹ *The Times*, December 1, 1915. Captain Bean was the Official Press Representative with the Australian Forces.

topics, whereby the deliberations were immensely facilitated and an interpreter was wholly unnecessary" ¹ (General Sarrail).

Nov. 20. At Athens. Long audience with King Constantine and interview with M. Skouloudis, the Prime Minister; later in the day sails from the Piræus.

Nov. 21. Great storm, followed by hard frost and a heavy blizzard, in Gallipoli Peninsula; water rises in many places to the height of parapets of trenches.

Nov. 22. Townshend advancing on Bagdad fights indecisive Battle of Ctesiphon.

Nov. 23. Serbian Army is retreating to the Albanian frontier.

Nov. 26. Arrival of Kitchener in Rome. Interviews with Signor Salandra and others. Leaves in the afternoon for the Italian General

¹ General Sarrail to *Morning Post* correspondent. *Morning Post*, June 12, 1916. We have been unable to ascertain the dates of the interviews which Kitchener had with General Sarrail.

Headquarters at the front to visit the King of Italy.

Nov. 27. At Italian Headquarters ; received by King Victor Emanuel.

Visits part of the Italian Front on the Middle and Lower Isonzo.

Nov. 28. Announcement that instructions have been given for immediate transfer to Ministry of Munitions of the Ordnance Board, Research Department at Woolwich, Experimental Establishment at Shoeburyness, and the War Office Inventions Department.

Nov. 29. Kitchener in Paris. Interview with M. Briand. Lunches with the French President, and afterwards attends a War Council.

Nov. 30. Returns to London.

Dec. 3. Townshend back at Kut-el-Amara.

Joffre appointed Generalissimo of all the French armies.

Dec. 4. Kitchener at War Conference at Calais.

Dec. 8. Consequent on Kitchener's orders, immediate evacuation of Suvla and Anzac regions directed.¹

Dec. 9. With Sir Edward Grey, Kitchener attends Conference in Paris of the Allied War Council.

Dec. 11. Leaves Paris.

Dec. 15. Sir John French resigns command in France and takes up command of Home Army.

Dec. 18-19. Suvla Bay and Anzac positions completely evacuated at trifling loss.

Dec. 28. Evacuation of Helles (Allied position at tip of Gallipoli Peninsula) ordered by Kitchener.

¹ Towards the latter end of November, General Birdwood had been making preparations for the evacuation. The date of Kitchener's orders is not given by Sir Charles Monro.

Dec. 29. Kitchener pays a visit to the 3rd London General Hospital, Wandsworth Common, and chats with many of the wounded soldiers.

Dec. 31. Resignation of Sir John Simon from British Cabinet.

1916, *Jan. 3.* Lieutenant-General Sir William R. Robertson gazetted Chief of the Imperial General Staff (appointed December 21, 1915).

Jan. 4. Lord Derby's Report published.

Jan. 5. Kitchener in House of Lords supports Compulsory Military Service Bill.

“ So far we have been able to provide for the large increase of the Army and its maintenance on a purely voluntary system, and I, personally, had always hoped that we should be able to finish the war successfully without changing that system, which has done so well and which has given us such splendid

material in the field as the soldiers now fighting in the different theatres of war. I do not consider that the change proposed should be regarded in the light of any derogation of the principle of voluntary service in this country. It only affects, during the period of the war, one class of men, amongst whom there are undoubtedly a certain number who have but a poor idea of their duties as citizens, and require some persuasion greater than appeal to bring them to the Colours.

.

I speak only as a soldier, with a single eye to the successful conduct of the war. I feel sure every one will agree when I say that the fullest and fairest trial has been given to the system which I found in existence, and of which I felt it my duty to make the best use. We are now asking Parliament to sanction a change, as it has been proved that, in the special circumstances of this utterly unprecedented struggle, the existing system, without modification is not equal to maintaining the Army which is needed to secure victory."

Jan. 8-9. Remainder of Army in Gallipoli Peninsula evacuated, also at trifling loss.

Jan. 13.

"At present the Mesopotamia Expedition is controlled by the Government of India" (Mr. Tennant).¹

Feb. 2. Russians commence offensive in the Bukovina (Austro-Hungarian province, north of Roumania).

Feb. 4. Kitchener speaks at dinner in honour of Mr. Andrew Fisher on his taking up duties of High Commissioner for Australia.

"No troops that we have had in the field have fought better, with greater determination and more bravery than the Australian forces. They were brigaded with the New Zealanders in Gallipoli, and they have left a record in the history of the war of their doings at Anzac, of which, I believe, every part of the Empire will be for ever proud.

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, 1915-16, vol. lxxvii. p. 1765.

I must say I never realized the difficulties they had to go through until I visited Anzac. There, with the whole thing explained by General Birdwood, and seeing the positions they had to dig out in that wonderful place, I felt the utmost admiration for their exploits. The spirit of Australia was well illustrated the other day when I was inspecting an institution for teaching those of our soldiers, who have lost their sight in the war, trades and various occupations. There was a blind Australian there, and I condoled with him on the bad luck he had had. He said, 'Well, sir, I would go through it again. It was well worth it.' A spirit like that is the spirit of heroes, and this Empire need never be afraid as long as it makes such men." ¹

Feb. 9. Announcement that General Smuts will take command of British forces for reduction of German East Africa.

Feb. 15. Kitchener returns from a visit to France; speaks in House of Lords.

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, February 5, 1916.

“The operations in Mesopotamia . . . will now come under the direction of the War Office.”

Feb. 16. Russians, under Grand-Duke Nicholas, take Erzeroum in Asia Minor.

Feb. 17. Kitchener speaks in the House of Lords.

AIRCRAFT.

“I may inform the noble lord¹ that in the War Office there is no ‘gas-bag school,’ and whatever may be the outcome of what we have to do for the defence of this country we shall not be affected by any preconceived opinions. . . . No service in the field has, in my opinion, been more efficient than that of our Flying Corps. . . . I may say at once as regards Zeppelin attacks that it is beyond our power to guarantee these shores from a repetition of incursions. . . .”

Feb. 18. Conquest of the Cameroons (German West African Colony) completed.

¹ Lord Oranmore,

Feb. 21. Battle of Verdun opens.

Feb. 23. Portuguese seize 36 German ships interned in the Tagus.

March 1. Speech of Kitchener at the Guildhall urging the need for economy.

“My Lord Mayor, my lords, ladies and gentlemen—You have often been told that the present war is a war largely of financial and economic exhaustion, and also a war not only of armies, but of whole nations and peoples. I want you not only to listen to such statements, but to grasp clearly what they mean, and how they affect, or should affect, the lives of every one of us—every man, woman, and child—every day and every hour.

If it be true, and it certainly is true, that this is a war of nations, then the whole nation is fighting, and we have two great armies, not only the Army in the field, but the other—the civilian—army, consisting of the whole of the civilian population at home. Speaking as a representative of the Army in the field, I want to appeal on their behalf to the civilian army at home, for it is vital to the Army in the

field that the civilian army at home should also strenuously play its part. I want you to realize that the Army in the field could not last one single day without the efforts of the civilian population behind it. Our soldiers depend wholly on the civilian population for their food, their clothing, and the unlimited munitions and equipment that they must have if they are successfully to meet their enemies.

Whether they can get all these vital things in sufficient quantities, and continue to do so, depends absolutely and entirely upon whether every man and woman at home shows the utmost energy in production and the utmost economy in consumption. If men and women are not producing all they can by their labour and skill, or are consuming, either in food or clothes or anything else more than they need, they are making it so much the more difficult to meet the needs of our soldiers and our Allies, and therefore they are doing something to help our enemies to win, just as much as a soldier who refuses to do his utmost on the field of battle.

I would ask you to look at our problems from another aspect.

It is not only money that our armies require. We want just as many men as we can get as soldiers. Therefore we are bound to take all the men that can possibly be spared, whether from industry or from agriculture or from commerce. We want an unceasing supply of guns and shells, rifles and cartridges, and all other munitions of war.

We want very large supplies of other military requirements, such as food, clothing, and transport. We want to provide as much munitions, supplies, and equipment as possible for the use of our Allies. The question is, How can we do all these things at the same time? How can we take millions of men from our workshops, farms, banks, and offices, and yet provide not only all the things that the whole nation consumes under peace conditions; but also the vast mass of war material which now requires millions of men and women for its production?

If every one is to go on living as if times were normal, either we shall be unable to get all the men we require as soldiers, or we shall be unable to produce enough for our civilian population as well as what our armies must

imperatively have in order to carry through their tremendous task. Hitherto, finding that we could not produce nearly enough for the wants of our Army and our Allies, and for our own needs, we have filled up the gap by vast importations from foreign countries.

The more we import the more difficult the task is bound to become, and it is essential for the strength of our financial system, and for the maintenance of our foreign exchanges, that we should rely much more upon ourselves.

If this be so, then one thing becomes quite clear. We cannot possibly produce enough to meet all our ordinary peace-time requirements, as well as our military needs. Therefore, either the civilian population must go short of many things to which it is accustomed in time of peace, or our Armies must go short of munitions and other things indispensable to them.

Are the civilians at home prepared to let their brothers and friends in the trenches sacrifice their lives and endure hardships of all kinds, and yet themselves not be ready to undergo the small sacrifices in the way of harder work, increased effort, and increased

economy which alone can with certainty provide our Armies with all that they require until the end of the war?

Every war problem which faces us teaches us the same lesson. First, if we employ less labour in meeting the wants of the civilian population, then we can release more men for the fighting forces. Secondly, if we import less for consumption by the civil population, then we lessen the difficulties of sea transport. Thirdly, by importing less for the civilian population we also relieve the serious congestion at our docks in this country.

Fourthly, by carrying less for the civilian population we also relieve the congestion on our railways. Fifthly, by a general reduction in the consumption of commodities by the civilian population we do much to limit the increase in the cost of living. Lastly, as I have said, and as I repeat, because of its paramount importance, by consuming less ourselves we set free labour and capital to be employed in making what our own Armies and those of our Allies need. Therefore the military needs of this country at the present time and during the continuance of the war urgently demand

the strictest economy on the part of all citizens of this country.

Let those who are making large profits and receiving large wages, and are therefore tempted to extravagance, remind themselves that such profits and such wages are only made possible by the sacrifices of our Navy and Army, and that money made at such a cost should be used or invested for the nation's benefit, and not spent on personal indulgence.

It is not my business to state in detail in what ways you all should economize. One can only say that economy in everything is desirable, and particularly, of course, in such articles as coal, food-stuffs, intoxicating liquors, petrol and oils, tea and coffee, tobacco, and clothing of all kinds, especially woollen articles. I have laid stress on the immediate necessity for economy in order that the needs of the Navy and Army should be met, but economy is only one side of the picture. Economy is the negative side, and production is the positive side. Both economy and productive energy are required of all workers in the country, and both are of equal importance.

If every man and woman work their hardest

to produce everything the Army needs, then they are doing their bit. And if every man and woman receiving higher wages owing to the war, or enjoying an independent income, save all they possibly can and invest it in Government securities, they are equally doing their bit. But, on the other hand, if they do not work their hardest and do not save as much as they can, so far from contributing to the national cause they are, in fact, directly injuring it, and also are hindering their friends and relations in the trenches. I feel sure that this has only to be understood and realized for every one to do what is clearly and simply his duty to the utmost of his power." ¹

March 7. General Smuts advances against Germans in Kilimanjaro district (East Africa).

March 10. Germany declares war on Portugal.

March 15. Speech of Kitchener in House of Lords on exemptions from military service.

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, March 2, 1916.

March 16. Admiral von Tirpitz superseded.
General Galliéni, French Minister of War, resigns from ill-health, and is succeeded by General Roques.

March 17. Kitchener present at King's inspection of 3rd (Reserve) Battalion Irish Guards.

March 21. Russian offensive from Gulf of Riga to south of Dvinsk begins.

March 22. Kitchener receives General Cadorna, Commander-in-Chief of Italian Armies.

March 24. Telegram of congratulations to General Smuts on his successes over Germans in East Africa.

“The Secretary of State for War wishes to congratulate you and all ranks under your command on your brilliant success and on the dash and energy with which your operations have been conducted in a country with the difficulties of which he is acquainted from personal experience.”¹

¹ *The Times*, March 25, 1916.

March 26. At Paris to attend War Council of the Allies.

April 3. Entertains at dinner at York House Prince Alexander of Serbia.

April 17. Trebizond (in Asia Minor) taken by Russians under the Grand-Duke Nicholas.

April 19. Death of Field-Marshal von der Goltz, ex-trainer of the Turkish Army and director of Turkish strategy in Mesopotamia and Armenia.

April 20. First contingent of Russian troops, transported *viâ* Trans-Siberian railway, lands at Marseilles.

April 24. Rebellion in Ireland ; fighting at Dublin.

April 26. Kitchener attends Conference with Trade Union leaders.

April 28. Inspects in the Quadrangle of War Office a party of Russian officers and soldiers.

April 29. Fall of Kut-el-Amara and surrender of Townshend and his forces are announced.

April 30. Irish rebellion at an end.

May 4. Kitchener speaks in the House of Lords on the failure to relieve Townshend.

“Every effort was, of course, made to relieve the beleaguered force, and I am not travelling beyond the actual facts in saying that to the adverse elements alone was due the denial of success; the constant rain and consequent floods not only impeding the advance, but compelling—in lieu of turning movements—direct attacks on an almost impossibly narrow front. No praise would seem extravagant for the troops under Sir Percy Lake and Sir George Gorringe.”

Russians approaching Bagdad.

May 14. Great Austro-Hungarian offensive against Italians begins.

May 17. New Air Board constituted.

May 31. Battle off the coast of Jutland; German fleet defeated.

Major-General Sir Ivor Herbert, M.P., in House of Commons moves to reduce the War Office Vote by £100, "in respect of the salary of the Secretary of State for War." The motion is supported by several M.P.'s but is opposed by Mr. Asquith.

"I am bound to say, and I say it with the utmost sincerity and earnestness, that I think the Army, the country, and the Empire are under a debt which cannot be measured in words for the services Lord Kitchener has rendered since the beginning of the War. This was not, Heaven knows, a task which was sought by Lord Kitchener for himself" (Mr. Asquith).¹

June 2. Kitchener meets Members of Parliament and makes "statement reviewing certain aspects of the War, and replying to

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Commons, 1916 vol. lxxxii. p. 2805.

recent criticisms of Army administration." Subsequently he answers a number of questions. The proceedings close with a vote of thanks, proposed by the Right Hon. W. Crooks and seconded by Major-General Sir Ivor Herbert.

Audience with King George V.

Germans violently attack Ypres salient in the Hooze region.

June 4. Kitchener at Broome Park.

The 105th Day of the Battle of Verdun.¹

Russians under General Brussilov begin offensive from the Pripiet to frontiers of Roumania.

June 5. The 671st day of Kitchener's holding office as Secretary of State for War.

Kitchener travels to extreme north of Scot-

¹ In view of the gigantic efforts made by the Germans at Verdun a year and a half after the commencement of the War, the reader may ask himself what would have happened if Kitchener had not from the beginning of the War set to work to raise the huge British armies, which in June 1916 and earlier were holding the line from Ypres to the Somme?

land and with Staff embarks for Russia on the *Hampshire*.

“At 5 o'clock on the afternoon of Monday, June 5th, we embarked Lord Kitchener and his Staff on a special mission, but we did not know where we were going with them. The weather was very rough, so rough that the two destroyers which escorted us were sent back. At 8 p.m., while the watch below were standing by their hammocks ready to turn in, an explosion occurred. I was on the mess deck at the time. When the explosion happened all lights immediately went out and a terrible draught came rushing along the mess deck, blowing all the men's caps off. We did not know what had happened, so we walked aft to the only hatch that had not been battened down owing to the bad weather. While I was waiting with the others on the half-deck an officer came with Lord Kitchener from the captain's cabin. He called out: ‘Make room for Lord Kitchener!’ and the men opened out to let Lord Kitchener pass. He went on deck and I did not see any more of him after that.”¹

The narrative of Leading Seaman Charles Walter Rogerson carries the story of the Kitchener tragedy a little farther—

¹ Narrative of First Class Petty Officer Wilfred Wesson, published in *The Times*, June 16, 1916.

“I was the last of the survivors to see Lord Kitchener before leaving the ship. In the papers I notice that his Lordship is said to have been drowned by the overturning of a boat, but this is not correct. Lord Kitchener went down with the ship. He did not leave her. I saw Captain Savill helping his boat's crew to clear a way to the galley. The captain at this time was calling to Lord Kitchener to go to the boat, but owing to the noise of the wind and the sea Lord Kitchener apparently could not hear him. When the explosion occurred Lord Kitchener walked calmly from the captain's cabin, went up the ladder and on to the quarter-deck. There I saw him walking quite coolly and collectedly up and down, talking to two of his officers. All three were wearing khaki without overcoats. In fact, they were dressed just as they were when they boarded the ship.

Lord Kitchener did not seem in the least perturbed, but calmly waited the preparations for abandoning the ship, which were going on in a quiet, steady, and orderly way. The crew went to their stations, obeying orders steadily, and did their best to get out the boats, but that proved impossible. Owing to the rough weather no boats could be lowered; those that we got out were smashed up at once. No boats left the ship. What the people on shore thought to be boats leaving were three rafts. Men did get into the boats

as they lay in their cradles, thinking that as the ship went from under them the boats would float. But the ship sank by the head, and when she did she turned a complete somersault forward, carrying down with her all the boats and those in them. I do not think Lord Kitchener got into a boat at all. When I sprang on to a raft he was still on the starboard side of the quarter-deck talking to his officers. I won't say he did not feel the strain of the perilous situation like the rest of us, but he gave no outward sign of nervousness, and from the little time that elapsed between my leaving the ship and her sinking I feel certain that Lord Kitchener went down with her, standing on the deck at the time. Of the civilian members of his suite I saw nothing.

Although I do not really know what happened, my belief is that the *Hampshire* struck a mine, which exploded under her fore-part. It could not have been a submarine in such weather. An internal explosion in one of the magazines would have ripped the ship apart. It was hard luck to come to such an end after going through the Horn Reef battle unscathed. In that battle we led the *Iron Duke* into action, and our shells sank a German light cruiser and two submarines. We did not have a single casualty on our ship, although big shells fairly rained into the water all around us.”¹

¹ *The Times*, June 16, 1916.

June 6. The Admiralty receives telegram from Admiral Jellicoe :—

“I have to report with deep regret that His Majesty’s ship *Hampshire* (Captain Herbert J. Savill, R.N.), with Lord Kitchener and his Staff on board, was sunk last night, about 8 p.m., to the west of the Orkneys, either by a mine or torpedo.

Four boats were seen by observers on shore to leave the ship.

The wind was N.N.W. and heavy seas were running.

Patrol vessels and destroyers at once proceeded to the spot, and a party was sent along the coast to search; but only some bodies and a capsized boat have been found up to the present.

As the whole shore has been searched from the seaward, I greatly fear that there is little hope of there being any survivors.

No report has yet been received from the search-party on shore.”¹

June 10. The Secretary of the Admiralty issues the following announcement—

“A further report has been received from the Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Fleet

¹ *The Times*, June 7, 1916.

regarding the loss of His Majesty's ship *Hampshire*, with Lord Kitchener and his Staff on board. It has now been established that the *Hampshire* struck a mine at about 8 p.m. on Monday last.

The *Hampshire* was accompanied on her voyage by two destroyers until the captain of the *Hampshire* was compelled to detach them at about 7 p.m. on account of the very heavy seas.

It appears from the statements of the few survivors that the explosion occurred shortly before 8 p.m., and the ship sank within ten minutes.

Immediately on the receipt of the news destroyers and patrol vessels were dispatched to the scene, and search-parties were sent in motor-cars to work along the coast. It was reported that four boats had been seen to leave the ship, and all the vessels that had been dispatched were ordered to look out for and assist these boats.

In spite, however, of all these measures, the Commander-in-Chief concludes, with the deepest possible regret, that there can be no doubt that the boats were wrecked in the heavy sea on a lee shore, and that beyond the twelve survivors who got to shore on a raft all hope must be abandoned." ¹

June 15. Publication by Secretary of

¹ *The Times*, June 12, 1916.

Admiralty of the conclusions arrived at as a result of the inquiry held into the loss of the *Hampshire*.

“The *Hampshire* was proceeding along the west coast of the Orkneys; a heavy gale was blowing, with the seas breaking over the ship, which necessitated her being partially battened down.

Between 7.30 and 7.45 p.m. the vessel struck a mine and began at once to settle by the bows, heeling over to starboard before she finally went down about fifteen minutes after.

Orders were given by the Captain for all hands to go to their established stations for abandoning ship. Some of the hatches were opened and the ship's company went quickly to their stations.

Efforts were made without success to lower some of the boats, one of them being broken in half during the process and her occupants thrown into the water.

As the men were moving up one of the hatchways to their stations, Lord Kitchener, accompanied by a Naval Officer, appeared; the latter called out, ‘Make way for Lord Kitchener,’ and they both went up on to the Quarter Deck, and subsequently four Military Officers were seen on the Quarter Deck walking aft on the port side.

The Captain called out for Lord Kitchener

to come up to the fore bridge near where the Captain's boat was hoisted; he was also heard calling for Lord Kitchener to get into the boat, but no one is able to say whether Lord Kitchener got into the boat or not, nor what occurred to this boat, nor did any one see any of the boats get clear of the ship.

Large numbers of the crew used their life-saving belts, waistcoats, etc., which appear to have proved effective in keeping them afloat.

Three rafts were safely launched, and, with about fifty to seventy men on each of them, got clear of the ship.

A private soldier appears to have left the ship on one of the rafts, but it is not known what became of him.

It was light up to about 11 p.m.

Though the rafts with these large numbers of men got safely away, in one case out of over seventy men on board, six only survived; the survivors all report that men gradually dropped off and even died on board the rafts from exhaustion, exposure, and cold. Some of the crew must have perished trying to land on the rocky coast after such long exposure, and some died after landing." ¹

Under such circumstances disappeared the "greatest personality of our day." Of the very numerous tributes paid to Kitchener's

¹ *The Times*, June 16, 1916.

memory perhaps the finest was that of Lord Desborough, an intimate personal friend of the dead soldier.

Speaking at the Canadian Red Cross Hospital at Cliveden, he said—

“When I first knew him he was a most striking figure, tall, spare, with the most wonderful, piercing, bright blue eyes set very far apart. His eyes were what he called ‘burnt out’ afterwards. He was doing a desert ride on camels with a Bedouin Arab tribe with whom he was ‘blood brother,’ and the sun off the sand in their long ride, like sun off snow, nearly ruined his eyes. I asked him why he did not wear coloured glasses, but he said a ‘blood brother’ of an Arab tribe could not wear glasses. I remember my brother, who was in the 10th Hussars, saying that Kitchener was always working, up at sunrise drilling his men, and learning Arabic, of which he knew even the dialects.

Another physical calamity befell him when his horse fell on him when he was riding alone in India. Some natives saw the accident, but were too terrified to go near him, but at last they summoned up courage to bring the news that the ‘Lord of War,’ as they called him, was lying seriously hurt. He suffered much from his broken leg afterwards. Indeed, when he came back from India he

determined to get his leg broken and set again, but he could not find a surgeon who would do it, and this was one of the few occasions on which he did not get his way. The feelings of the natives of India were shared by those in Africa. On the field of Omdurman I met one who had been through the advance up the Nile. He said Kitchener never slept, and appeared when least expected among every unit of the force, which his spirit pervaded.

Once again when he was at Taplow I asked him about South Africa, and he told me everything without the slightest 'swagger' or self-praise ; in fact, I think modesty was one of his greatest qualities. He looked just the same as before the war, except that he was a little more sunburnt. He said that he wondered what the Boers would think of our life over here in the summer, going lazily on the river in boats and lounging about all day, and he said that they 'did not look at life that way.' Whatever was going on he seemed to pay the greatest attention to it, even if it was not of the slightest importance.

Lord Kitchener was not in private life the stern unbending sphinx of popular imagination. Indeed, no one to his friends was a more stimulating companion. When alone with you he was very talkative, and his curious humour and his quaint summing-up of individuals and situations was an unfailing source

of interest and surprise. He was absolutely unaffected, and had an ingrained distaste for popular demonstration, speechifying, and banquets.

Children accepted him as a natural friend. I remember my little girl once meeting us as we came in for tea from a walk, outside the tea-room (she was, I may say, his god-daughter), and she immediately said to the great Lord Kitchener, 'Don't go in there, they are making such a chatter; come up and have tea with me,' and up he went right to the top of the house, with his lame leg, and sat down with Imogen and her nurse and had a long talk.

There is one short story about him and the Army I think I may tell, as it helps you to understand him. A high staff officer, who has now a command, came to see him from the front, and he put searching questions to him about munitions, and then he said, 'I hope the Army does not think I have let them down,' and two large tears rolled down from his stern eyes. The munitions difficulty was part of our unpreparedness for war. The contractors undertook to carry out contracts, but owing in a great measure to their best men leaving for the war found themselves unable to do so, and Lord Kitchener had terrible disappointments.

Work was the keynote of Lord Kitchener's life, and work is the legacy he leaves to us. Amusements, as such, did not amuse him;

his aim was always to get something big accomplished, and he accomplished it. And now he is gone, and it feels, as I have seen it described, 'Like Nelson's column falling—something national, almost symbolic, gone,' but his work and his example remain, and, if it had to be, I hope he may lie where he is with a British warship for his coffin."¹

An officer of that army which, jeopardizing his future as a British soldier, Kitchener had joined when it was being overwhelmed by the Germans in 1870, has written verses² that may serve in place of Kitchener's epitaph:—

“Sous l'if ou le cyprès ne cherchez pas la place
Où du dernier sommeil dort le grand Kitchener.
Les noms qui sont gravés sur le marbre s'effacent ;
Mais il a pour tombeau l'immensité des mers.
Passagers ici-bas, nos pauvres mains sont prêtes
Avec des fleurs d'un jour à couronner son front,
Mais c'est la grande voix de la grande tempête
Qui, dans l'éternité, répètera son nom.”

¹ *Daily Telegraph*, June 17, 1916.

² Published in *Le Mouchoir*, the French journal of the trenches.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

OFFICIAL RECORD OF KITCHENER'S SERVICES IN ARMY LIST OF 1916

Name.	First Appointment.	Lieutenant.	Captain.	Major.	Lieut.-Colonel.	Colonel.	General Officer.	Regimental-Colonel.
KITCHENER OF KHARTOUM, <i>Rt. Hon. HORATIO HERBERT,</i> <i>Earl, K.G., K.P., G.C.B.,</i> <i>O.M., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G.,</i> <i>G.C.I.E., q.s. (Col., I. Gds.,</i> 15 Nov., 1914)	Lieut. Royal Engin. 4 Jan., 1871	... ..	Royal Engin. 4 Jan., 1883	Brevet 8 Oct., 1884 Royal Engin. 20 July, 1889	Brevet 15 June, 1885	Brevet 11 April, 1888	M.-Gen. (<i>supy.</i>) 25 Sept., 1896 Lieut.-G. (<i>supy.</i>) 23 Dec., 1899 General (<i>supy.</i>) 1 June, 1902	Colonel- Comdt. Royal Engin. 13 April, 1906
Field - Marshal, 10 Sept., 1909								

STAFF SERVICE, ETC.

Employed with Egyptian Army	...	...	...	21 February, 1883,	to	20 February, 1885
<i>D.A.A. and Q.M.G., Egypt</i>	...	...	...	23 September, 1884,	"	15 July, 1885
Employed with Egyptian Army...	...	...	...	25 August, 1886,	"	22 December, 1899
<i>Governor-General, Red Sea Littoral and Comdt., Suakin</i> ...	...	...	...	25 August, 1886,	"	12 September, 1888
<i>Adjutant-General</i>	...	...	...	13 September, 1888,	"	12 April, 1892
<i>Sirdar</i>	...	...	...	13 April, 1892,	"	22 December, 1899
A.D.C. to the Queen	...	...	...	11 April, 1888,	"	24 September, 1896
Major-General (Chief of Staff), South Africa	...	...	...	23 December, 1899,	"	28 November, 1900
General Officer Commanding-in-Chief the Forces, South Africa	...	...	...	29 November, 1900,	"	27 November, 1902
Commander-in-Chief, East Indies	...	...	...	28 November, 1902,	"	9 September, 1909
Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, and Minister Plenipotentiary	...	...	...	6 September, 1911		
Secretary of State for War	...	...	...	6 August, 1914		

NOTE.—The official dates are not always the real dates of appointments.

Printed in Great Britain by
UNWIN BROTHERS, LIMITED
WOKING AND LONDON

[illegible]

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

